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Investigator Reports on VOA Biberaj's Accident

AU2409131091 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA)—The newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carried today (September 24) the report of the General Investigation Office signed by its chairman, Kristaq Ngjela. The report on the accident of September 18, 1991 in the Tirana-Fushe Kruje motor road, where the Messieurs Elez Biberaj, Qemal Sakajeva and Mehmet Elezi got injured, says among others: Since the very start of investigation the driver Artan Lamlli has agreed that he has been coming back from Tirana with 4 passengers heading for Fushe Kruje and at the moment he tried to overtake the "Fiat" car his car hit it and he left quickly the spot of the accident fearing he would be caught. The defendant explained in the investigation office that the first car had blocked the road and this led to the collision of the two cars.

After providing details on the accident referring to the witnesses of the defendant and of others witnesses, the report says in conclusion: The hitherto investigation do not confirm that the defendant Artan Lamlli has acted deliberately and that this accident has been organized by various forces as the witnesses Mehmet Elezi and Qemal Sakajeva have written in the press. The proofs testify to an accident caused by the non-observation of the rules of the road code in cases when vehicles overtake on the road. Investigations are going on and other witnesses who know of the event will be (?inquired), the report says in conclusion.

More on Visit of European Parliament Delegation

Alia Receives Delegation

AU2409200791 Tirana ATA in English 1757 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, received the delegation of the European Parliament, headed by Mr. Glyn Ford, at the Palace of Brigades on September 24, afternoon.

President Ramiz Alia told the delegation members on various aspects of the development of the democratic processes in our country, the real difficulties Albania is encountering in this period of transition, the endeavours to overcome successfully the social problems, the cooperation with the European states and organisations and on questions of the situation in the Balkan region and Europe.

Mr. Glyn Ford assessed the democratic changes that have occurred in Albania, the cooperation of the political forces in these moments and voiced the commitment of the European Parliament and the Socialist group in it to grant our country short- and long-term aids by the European Community.

The meeting passed in a spirit of full understanding.

Delegation Meets Party Leaders

AU2409200991 Tirana ATA in English 1801 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA)—The chairman of the Socialist Party [SP] of Albania, Fatos Nano, received the delegation of the European Parliament, headed by Mr. Glyn Ford on September 24, before noon. During the meeting they spoke on the aid and support the European Parliament has granted to the democratic developments in Albania. Fatos Nano briefed them on the political activity of the Socialist Party of Albania, on the cooperation with the other political forces realistically working for democracy, the relations of the SP with the socialist parties of Europe, the activity of the parliamentary group of the SP at the People's Assembly, etc.

On September 24, the chairman of the Democratic Party, Dr. Sali Berisha received the European parliamentary delegation. After acquainting the delegation with the programme and activity of this party, he voiced the confidence that the European Parliament will support the democratic reforms undertaken in Albania, just like until now. He assessed the statement of the European Parliament of Strasbourg, Europe's aids for Albania and spoke of the defence of the rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, their indispensable participation in the discussions on the solution of the Yugoslav crisis, etc.

During the meeting held in the seat of the Social Democratic Party, after briefing the delegation of the European Parliament on the program of this party and its extension, the secretary general of this party, Lisen Bashkurti spoke of the activity in the present stage and the prospects for the deepening of the democratic processes. He aired the stand of the Social Democratic Party on the situation in Yugoslavia, the defence of the rights of the Albanian people in Kosovo that managed to issue the resolution which defined the Republic of Kosovo a sovereign and independent state, etc.

The delegation of the European Parliament had meetings also with Omonia's deputy, Panajot Barka, with whom it discussed various issues on the situation of the Greek minority in Albania.

The delegation of the European Parliament met also with members of the Free Trade Union Confederation and of the Steering Committee of the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Albania.

During these meetings the European parliamentarians assessed the democratic processes in Albania and committed themselves to help their further deepening, underscoring that now Albania is part of Europe from all points of view.

Islami Briefs Delegation

AU2409131791 Tirana ATA in English 0856 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA)—On September 23 the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly,

Kastriot Islami, received the delegation of the European Parliament headed by Mr. Glyn Ford.

Kastriot Islami briefed the European parliamentarians with the composition and functioning of the first Albanian pluralist assembly, its so far lawmaking activity, etc. He pointed to the cooperation between the parliamentary groups, which have solved many important issues of this period by consensus, appreciated the help given by Europe so far and pointed to the benefit of the visit of foreign experts in our country. He also said that it is necessary that the Albanian parliamentarians air their views in the European parliaments. He underlined that the three parliamentary groups are of the same opinion for the solution of the crisis in Yugoslavia. Mr. Glyn Ford expressed his satisfaction over the cooperation of different forces in the Albanian parliament. It is necessary that the political parties throw their glance more on the future than on the past, he said. This is the future of Albania. The growth of common points amongst the parliamentary groups testifies to a correct policy, he added. He also took interest in amnesty and the treatment of former political prisoners.

Concerning the demand of the Albanian parliamentarians that the European Parliament help Albania for the economic rehabilitation of the former political prisoners, Mr. Glyn Ford answered that he will raise this problem to the European Parliament and the European Council for aid, particularly for building dwelling flats. He also laid the stress on the need that parliamentarian experts come in Albania to hold seminars.

The representatives of three parliamentary groups spoke at the meeting. Namik Dokle pointed to the common points of the political forces in the parliament and the establishment of market economy, the development of political pluralism, the defence of rights and freedoms of the individual, the defence of national issue of Kosovo. Neritan Ceka explained among others the development of political forces in Albania, particularly following March 31 elections. He said that the current composition of the parliament does not respond to the current real relation of the political forces. Whereas Panajot Barka aired the opinion of the Omonia parliamentary group on the Law for Political Parties and said that this law should also be followed by a suitable election law, which will enable the representation of the minority in the parliament. He also raised some problems minority is concerning with, particularly the lack of conditions to acquire education in the mother tongue until 18 years.

The deputy foreign minister Ilir Bocka received the delegation of the European Parliament, headed by Mr. Glyn Ford.

At the meeting it was spoken on the peaceful policy of the Republic of Albania, the strengthening its relations with inter-European organizations and particularly with the European Parliament, etc.

Comments on Kosovo's Declaration of Independence

AU2409202691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Commentary by Lindita Ulqinaku—recorded]

[Text] The meeting of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo chaired by Deputy Chairman Iljaz Ramajli was a special event of great importance for the Albanian people of Kosovo. At a time when Yugoslavia is engulfed in conflict, when the Serbian danger is increasingly present, and when Kosovo is threatened by a new massacre, the legitimate representatives of the Albanian people met again in order to determine their road to salvation. The terror and violence that intensified after the events of 2 July 1990 did not stifle the Albanians' desire to be free and independent, and did not scare the legitimate Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, which in these difficult moments again acted with courage and wisdom.

One particular aspect that gave this meeting greater historical value was the unanimous approval of the resolution defining the Republic of Kosovo as a republic and a sovereign and independent state with the right to be a constitutive element in an association of sovereign republics and states in Yugoslavia on the basis of freedom and full equality.

For this reason, the 22 September meeting of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo stands alongside those of 2 July and 7 September 1990. This resolution was reported to the republics of Yugoslavia, the legislatures and governments of the countries of Europe, the legislatures and governments of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, and the public within Yugoslavia and beyond.

Among many important issues, one of the items on the agenda was a discussion of the constitutional law and the implementation of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. Kosovo, paralyzed for more than one year, demands to come to life again. It was stressed at the Assembly that all of its organs and institutions must be activated. The delegates said that, in the event of a direct threat of war, invasion, or a danger to independence and territorial integrity, the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo in its present form, in agreement with the political parties, may elect a provisional coalition government for the Republic of Kosovo.

To enable the Albanian population in Kosovo to express its free will as fully as possible and to have an equal say with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo made the decision to hold an all-people's referendum on the territory of Kosovo. The people of Kosovo will declare themselves for or against the republic as a sovereign and independent state with constitutive rights in an association of sovereign republics and states in Yugoslavia. The referendum will be held between 26 and 30 September of this year. Through this referendum, the Albanian people will express what they want. They have the right

to decide their own fate. They owe no debt to Yugoslavia or Serbia. In the context of the new Yugoslavia, Kosovo, too, asks for its new place.

Albania welcomes this new act of the Assembly of Kosovo as a historic event and unreservedly supports the efforts of the Albanian population of Kosovo to achieve its legitimate rights and to decide its own future freely, in accordance with well-known international principles, so that the Republic of Kosovo will be a constitutive and sovereign element.

Regulations for Privatization Auctions

AU2409162891 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Sep 91 p 2

[Edict on "Organizing the Procedure for Transferring State Property to Private Ownership Through Auctions," issued by the Council of Ministers in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] On the basis of Decree No. 307 of the Council of Ministers, dated 29 August 1991, "On the Rights and Duties of the National Privatization Agency and the Preparatory Privatization Commission," with the aim of fully and uniformly carrying out the process of privatization through auctions, the Council of Ministers instructs:

I. The Organization of Auctions

1. Auctions are organized and announced by the National Privatization Agency and its district branches. They are announced in the available public media.

The National Privatization Agency and its district branches record the value and determine the price of properties to be privatized by auction. From this moment, no changes may be made to the property except with the approval of the National Privatization Agency.

2. Decisions of the National Privatization Agency and its district branches create temporary auction commissions with the following composition:

a) A representative of the finance section of the district or regional executive committee in the case of properties of local importance, or a representative of the Finance Ministry in the case of properties of national importance.

b) A representative of the enterprise, when enterprises or their property are privatized.

c) A representative of the section of the executive committee responsible for an enterprise of local importance or a representative of the ministry responsible for the work of an enterprise of national importance.

The chairman of the auction commission is the representative of the financial authority mentioned in 2 a) of this edict.

Auctions are in all cases carried out in the presence of a representative of the National Privatization Agency or its district branch, who compiles a report on the conduct of the auction.

II. Property To Be Sold at Auction

All forms of movable or immovable state property may be privatized by auction.

The purpose of the auction may also be to rent enterprises, institutions, and other properties, in which case the same procedure as for their sale is followed.

III. Auction Procedure

1. On the basis of its decision, the National Privatization Agency or its district branch publicly announces the auction, specifying:

a) The features of the property to be auctioned, its function, site, and other relevant data in connection with the property to be privatized.

b) The starting price from which the auction commences.

c) The date, time, and place where the auction will take place and the list of properties to be auctioned.

d) The documents required to be submitted by participants in the auction according to the instructions of the National Privatization Agency, the deadline for their submission, and the place where they are to be submitted.

Persons intending to buy property put up for auction, with the authorization of the National Privatization Agency or its district branches, may ask for explanations, inspect the property, or verify the documentation connected with the property.

2. Prior notice of 15 days is given for auctions of movable property, and notice of 15-30 days for immovable property.

3. The following persons attend the auction:

a) Persons who have submitted the required documents for participation in the auction (including a document certifying the deposit at the bank of a sum equal to 10 percent of the property's starting price). The commission declares these persons to be participants in the auction at least one day before the auction takes place.

Persons representing a participant at an auction must possess an authorization signed by a notary.

b) Physically and legally foreign persons fulfilling the conditions of Paragraph 2 of Article 24 of Law No. 7,512 of 10 August 1991.

4. Persons who are members of the auction commission, members of their families, or their close relatives or in-laws may not take part in an auction.

5. The auction begins at the appointed time. The chairman of the auction commission, after announcing the commission's membership to the participants, declares the auction open by announcing the starting price. Bidding starts with his permission. Bids in excess of earlier bids extend the auction. Higher bids supersede lower bids.

When there are no more bids, the commission chairman calls for further bids three times. At the third call, he gives notice of the end of the auction. If there are still no further bids, he declares the auction closed with an audible signal.

At the end of the auction, the commission announces the purchaser of the property. The report that is drawn up and signed by the commission and, where necessary, the representative of the National Privatization Agency or its district branch mentions the time and the date of the beginning and the end of the auction, its place, the membership of the commission, the persons taking part in the auction as bidders, and other data testifying to the proper conduct and organization of the auction. A sale contract is then drawn up with the person declared to be the purchaser, which defines the property sold, the boundaries of immovable property, the price, the payment schedule, the procedure and the deadline for the transfer of the property, and so forth. This document is signed by the director of the enterprise or institution or by his authorized representative, by the representative of the National Privatization Agency or its district branch, and the purchaser. One copy is taken by the representative of the National Privatization Agency or its district branch in order to register the sale in the National Privatization Agency's basic registry, and another copy is given to the purchaser to enable him to register his immovable property or to seek registration from the court under Article Five of Law No. 7,512 of 10 August 1991. A third copy is kept by the finance authority (the finance section or the Finance Ministry).

6. The property is transferred when the purchaser has paid its price. The 10-percent deposit paid before the start of the auction is included in the price.

If the purchaser does not pay the price within the appointed time, he loses the right to buy the property, and his deposit is returned to him. In that case, the seller has the right to claim compensation for damage suffered, according to the laws in force.

If the purchaser refuses to pay the price and states that he withdraws his purchase offer immediately after the close of the auction, he pays the expenses of the auction.

7. The purchaser receives the property bought at auction from the person authorized by the National Privatization Agency or its district branch and from the director of the enterprise or institution or his representative. The transfer is documented in the report compiled and signed by the seller and the purchaser. Claims lodged by any party are recorded in the report.

8. All disagreements arising from the sale and transfer of state property to private ownership, when they cannot be amicably solved, are settled by the court according to the legal dispositions governing sales contracts.

9. Other persons taking part in the auction who are not announced to have been successful receive a refund from the bank of their 10 percent deposits paid before the auction's start, on the basis of a certificate issued by the auction commission.

IV. Appeals Against the Decisions of the Auction Commissions

1. The following persons have the right to lodge appeals against the behavior and decisions of the auction commission in connection with the regularity of the conduct of the auction:

a) Persons who have participated in the auction.

b) A purchaser who, after the close of the auction, has complaints about the behavior of the commission.

c) The finance section or the Finance Ministry, regardless of the stands taken by its representatives on the auction commission.

Appeals are lodged with the general director of the National Privatization Agency within five days after the close of the auction. The general director's decision is final.

2. Third persons who have claims in connection with property or other ownership claims in connection with property rights over properties sold at auction should turn to the courts, according to the dispositions of the Civil Code.

3. This edict takes effect immediately.

[signed] Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers

Council of Ministers Decree on Electricity Prices

AU2409150591 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Sep 91 p 2

[Council of Ministers decree "On Changing the Retail Price of Electrical Energy," issued in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] On the proposal of the General Directorate of Electrical Energy, the Council of Ministers decrees:

1. To stimulate the household use of electrical energy, the retail price of electricity for the urban and rural population will be 0.30 leks per kilowatt-hour for amounts up to 250 kilowatt-hours per month per household, and 0.60 leks per kilowatt-hour for amounts above the 250 kilowatt-hour quota.

On the basis of the present state of the electricity grid, the maximum monthly amount of electricity sold at a price of 0.30 leks per kilowatt-hour will initially vary according to district. On the basis of the technical condition of the grid, consumers are divided into three zones:

In Zone No. 1, where the grid is in good technical condition, the amount will be 250 kilowatt-hours per month.

In Zone No. 2, where there the grid is in less favorable technical condition, the amount will be 150 kilowatt-hours per month.

In Zone No. 3, where the grid is in poor technical condition, the amount will be 70 kilowatt-hours per month.

2. The General Directorate of Electrical Energy decides the zoning of towns and villages. As the country's electricity grid is reconstructed, all household consumers will gradually be transferred to better zones, until nationwide standardization is achieved.

3. The retail price of electricity for nonhousehold consumers will be 0.80 leks per kilowatt-hour. The maintenance and service charges for these consumers will be 10-100 leks, depending on the size and strength of their installations and the category of consumer. Charges are determined according to instructions drawn up by the General Directorate of Electrical Energy.

4. The General Directorate of Electrical Energy will calculate the financial consequences of these changes in the retail price of electricity, and the relevant sum will be added to the Council of Ministers' reserve funds, on the basis of a special accountancy procedure.

5. Decree No. 191 of the Council of Ministers, dated 10 June 1986, "On the Retail Price of Electricity for Cooking," is annulled.

This decree takes effect on 1 October 1991.

[signed] Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers

Decree Determines Guidelines for Gasoline Prices

AU2409142491 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Sep 91 p 2

[Council of Ministers decree "On Determining the Retail Price of Gasoline, Lubricating Oils, and Other Oil By-Products," issued in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] On the proposal of the Ministry of Mining and Energy Resources, the Council of Ministers decrees:

1. The retail price of domestically produced or imported gasoline for physical or legal Albanian nationals is determined according to the attached List No. 1. The maximum price levels for oil by-products are determined according to the attached List No. 2.

2. The Finance Ministry and the Ministry of Mining and Energy Resources determine the prices of oil by-products within the limits prescribed by the attached List No. 2.

3. Physical or legal foreigners who purchase gasoline, lubricating oils, and other oil by-products within the territory of the Republic of Albania do so only with freely convertible foreign currency accepted by the Albanian State Bank and from enterprises under the Ministry of Mining and Energy Resources, according to instructions issued by the Ministry of Mining and Energy Resources and the Finance Ministry.

4. In determining the foreign currency retail prices of gasoline and lubricating oil for physical or legal foreigners, the Finance Ministry and the Ministry of Mining and Energy Resources will bear in mind the market prices in neighboring countries. These prices will be reviewed every month and will be announced on the last day of the preceding month.

5. The sale for leks of gasoline, lubricating oil, and other oil by-products for foreign motor vehicles (with foreign license plates) used by Albanian or foreign physical or legal persons is forbidden.

6. The Ministry of Mining and Energy Resources and the Finance Ministry are instructed to issue the relevant regulations for the sale of gasoline.

Decree No. 178 of the Council of Ministers dated 31 May 1991, "On the Transfer to Minergoimpeks of the Supply of Fuel and Lubricating Oil to Foreign Aircraft, Ships, and Motor Vehicles," is annulled.

This decree comes into effect on 1 October 1991.

[signed] Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers

Government Meets With Striking Former Prisoners

AU2409201891

[Editorial Report] Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 24 September carries a total of five minutes of announcer-read items about the continuing hunger strike of former political prisoners in Tirana.

An announcement by the Council of Ministers' Press and Information Directorate issued on 24 September states: Dr. Aleksander Meksi, deputy chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, and Dr. Teodor Kareco, general secretary to the Council of Ministers, appointed by the Presidency of the People's Assembly and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, held a meeting today with the former political prisoners who have gone on hunger strike. They talked with the former prisoners about their demands and, in the name of the People's Assembly and the government, stressed once again their commitment to meeting the demands submitted by the

Association of Political Prisoners, in accordance with the real opportunities available and the relevant legislation that is in preparation.

In particular, they said that the recognition of their innocence involves the approval of the amnesty and rehabilitation law that will be resubmitted immediately to the People's Assembly at its second session. As for the solution of those demands of the political prisoners that are within the government's competence, the Council of Ministers has decided to create a government commission. Dr. Teodor Kareco, general secretary to the Council of Ministers, has been appointed chairman of the commission, and Justice Minister Dr. Shefqet Muci has been appointed deputy chairman. The Council of Ministers has also decided to create commissions under the pluralist executive committees in every district in order to meet the demands of former political prisoners. The government commission is charged with the following duties:

1. It will take measures to employ former political prisoners on a priority basis within Albania and abroad. The Association of Political Prisoners and its district branches should prepare by 30 October lists of former political prisoners seeking employment. The commission will deal with the solution of this problem.

2. Until the law on social assistance is approved, the government should provide economic support for former political prisoners, a duty then to be shouldered by social assistance until they find employment.

3. After the amnesty and rehabilitation law is approved by the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers will issue a special decree to determine the ways in which material compensation is to be paid, and by what deadline.

4. The government commission will instruct the pluralist executive committees to give urgent and continuous attention to meeting former political prisoners' demands for housing. The State Bank will help former political prisoners with credit to build or buy houses and to start private businesses.

5. The Association of Political Prisoners should present requests for the continuation of their children's educations by 5 October, and the Ministry of Education is instructed to meet their demands by 10 October.

6. The Government Commission will charge the responsible authorities with the task of finding the graves of prisoners and returning their bodies to their families.

7. By 15 October, the Initiating Commission of the Association of Political Prisoners will be supplied with appropriate premises for a headquarters and district branches.

The announcer then states: For several days, former political prisoners have been holding a hunger strike in the gymnasium of the Tirana Sports Club. They are insisting on the fulfillment of their five demands and have not stated how long the strike will continue.

The announcer then reads statements supporting the former political prisoners' demands issued by the Universal Party, the National Unity Party, the Women's Union, the Trade Union Federation of the Wood and Paper Industry, and the Autocephalous Albanian Orthodox Church.

Journalists League Meets, Protests Press Bill

AU2409131491 Tirana ATA in English 0926 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA)—On September 23, 1991, the first national meeting of the Albanian Journalists' League was held.

It discussed extensively on the organization and hitherto activity of the Journalists' League and its activity in the future too. Views were expressed on the work to be done for defending the interests and professional, juridical, ethical and public rights of the journalists, members of the league in compliance with the law on the press and according to the international conventions on the press. The organization will strive that its members be responsible only before the law and professional honour for their activity in the field of publicity.

The participants expressed their dissatisfaction over the approval of the draft-law on the press and mass media by the Council of Ministers, without taking into consideration the opinion of reporters, and demanded that before submitting the law to the People's Assembly it must be examined by the Albanian Journalists' League. All the participants declared that they have abandoned the Albanian Journalists' Union because it does not function any longer. Upon the request of the representatives from Radio-Television [RTV], the participants in the meeting agreed that the reporters from RTV and ATA take part in this league.

Arben Kallamata was elected chairman of the Provisional Steering Committee and Naim Zoto secretary.

Zhelev Meets U.S. Intelligence Officials

AU2409162291 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 24 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev received a group of representatives of the U.S. intelligence services led by Ambassador A. Peter Burleigh, coordinator for counterterrorism at the U.S. Department of State. The president said that the visit of this delegation is further evidence of the new closeness between Bulgaria and the United States in all areas, including the sensitive field in which these services operate.

The president said that the experience of the United States would be useful in the process of reorganizing the Bulgarian intelligence services which have new tasks and functions in a democratic society. The police and the security forces have their place in every democratic system. They guarantee the democratic institutions, Dr. Zhelev said.

Dr. Burleigh said he was pleased with the current exchange of counterterrorism information between the two countries, that he hoped this cooperation would continue and that the United States was ready to assist Bulgaria in the reorganization of its police and security services.

Prime Minister Popov Arrives in Athens for Talks

AU2409195691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] On 24 September, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov arrived in Athens for talks with his Greek counterpart, Konstandinos Mitsotakis, our correspondent Martin Minkov reported.

Our meetings have always been important not only for our two countries but also for improving relations in the Balkans, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said on his arrival in Athens. I came here with my typical optimism and goodwill, the Bulgarian prime minister said.

The Bulgarian-Greek intergovernmental talks will take place on 25 September in accordance with the bilateral agreement that had been achieved in advance, our special correspondent reports.

New Agreements on Agenda

AU2409200091 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Report by Vecheslav Tunev]

[Text] Athens, September 24 (BTA)—"I've brought here with my characteristic optimism and good will," the Bulgarian Prime Minister Mr. Dimitur Popov said upon his arrival here this evening. Meeting Greek and Bulgarian reporters at Athens international airport, Mr. Popov emphasized that his host Mr. Mitsotakis and he will consider the state and the prospects of bilateral contacts, will survey achievements and will probably outline new agreements to consolidate friendship and goodneighbourliness. "Our meetings have always produced some new developments, they have been of great importance for the improvement of Balkan relations," said the Bulgarian head of government who will confer with his Greek counterpart tomorrow morning. Tomorrow afternoon [25 September] Mr. Popov and Mr. Mitsotakis will hold a joint news conference.

The current Bulgaro-Greek dialogue is eagerly awaited, as it takes place at a time when the situation in the Balkans is exceedingly complicated and immediately after the meeting in Athens between the premiers of Greece, Bulgaria and Romania and the president of Greece has been postponed.

The Bulgarian delegation will fly home Thursday morning [26 September].

Tomov Announces Reforms in Kozloduy Management

AU2409140891 Sofia FAKS in Bulgarian 19 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Milena Miteva: "Tomov Promises Autonomy and Strict Discipline for the Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov (37), who took leave for the elections and left the capital yesterday, made the following statement in a special interview for FAKS: As far as the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant is concerned, it is not so much the state of the reactors that people are worried about. The outdated technical standards of operation are a much greater cause of concern.

Strict discipline should be introduced in the nuclear power plant, Mr. Tomov said.

We entrusted the Committee on Power Supply to submit a draft on the establishment of a national power supply company, Mr. Tomov declared. According to him, the draft should be examined by the government toward the end of September 1991, which would mean that the nuclear plant would be separated from the committee and should function as an autonomous installation.

We also intend to introduce a competition for managers, Deputy Prime Minister Tomov said. He stressed that the future general manager of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant should be invested with extensive rights and freedom of action.

New Gas Emissions Registered in Ruse

AU2409173691 Sofia BTA in English 1701 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 24 (BTA)—This morning the city of Ruse received another large dose of chemical pollution. Samples taken at different times and places in

the city showed a chlorine ion concentration considerably above the admissible average daily level. The chlorine ion concentration reading taken in the centre of the city at 6 a.m. was 4.5-fold higher than the acceptable level. The samples taken three hours later at three of the four monitoring posts also showed chlorine concentrations 1.25 to 3.5-fold higher than the admissible level.

In connection with the latest pollution of the city of Ruse, the Ecoglasnost National Movement, whose secretary Edvin Sugarev tops the Ruse electoral list of the Union of Democratic Forces, the Green Party and the Independent Ecoglasnost Association Coalition in the city, sent an address to Prime Minister Dimitur Popov. They reminded him of the pledge he made together with Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman to guarantee a halt of the ten-year long ecocide [as received] in Ruse. They point out that such pledges were already made by the "most irresponsible prime minister Bulgaria has ever had—Andrey Lukanov" but to no avail. The address insists on the recall of the Bulgarian ambassador in Bucharest until the pollution of Ruse stops and until Romania officially declares that it will not resume it.

BSP Presents Parliamentary Candidates

AU2409153491 Sofia BTA in English 1456 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 24 (BTA)—"The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) election alliance has nominated 301 candidates. Of them, 253 are members of the BSP, 30 are members of the other parties in the election alliance and 18 are independents," BSP spokesman Nikolay Dobrev told a news conference today.

Eighty-two of the candidates were MP's in the Grand National Assembly. About 40 per cent of the candidates are aged between 30 and 40. Most of the candidates are engineers while lawyers dominate the lists of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

According to Mr. Nikolay Dobrev, "The electoral list of the party was drawn by its electorate: The candidates were nominated by the primary party branches without any interference on the part of the BSP Supreme Council."

"All parties in the BSP election coalition retain their independence. Parties were included in it with the consent of all founding parties. The candidacies of some parties were dropped because of their regional character," Mr. Apostol Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the BSP, told the news conference.

Like the SDS, the BSP will make a parallel count on polling day.

BSP Allegedly Provokes Racial Tension

AU2409143891

[Text] Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian on 19 September on pages 1 and 6 carries an 800-word article by Stefana Gergova and Evlogi Stoilov entitled "Bulgarian Socialist Party Prepare New Provocation Relating to the Ethnic Problem."

The article gives examples of how incidents are deliberately "set up" to increase tension between the Bulgarian population and the minority ethnic Turkish community, and to illustrate the "criminal tendencies" of the ethnic Turks. These incidents are allegedly "worked out by the the 'Special Function Group' of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Election Club" in the hope that "these 'incidents' will kindle anti-Turkish feelings that will help the campaign of the Socialist Party."

The article continues, alleging that "The Special Function Group" has analyzed the times when the BSP election campaign would most benefit from racial tension. These are at the beginning of the academic year and 10 days before the elections—on 4 October. The article states: "It is interesting that the BSP has kept to the first period for intensifying ethnic tensions."

Further on, the authors outline several incidents in the recent past and during 1990 when the actions of "The Special Function Group" have actually had the opposite effect of that anticipated, such as when the group's plans did not take into consideration "the new initiatives of President Zhelev for constructive and neighborly relations with Turkey."

Ginyo Ganev Advocates DPS Ban From Elections

AU2409162691 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Sep 91 p 3

[Report by Tsoncho Draganski]

[Text] At a meeting with the Club of Generals of the Reserves for Peace, Security, and Democracy, Mr. Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, dwelt on Bulgaria's topical problems. Our country is living through a period of radical change, he said. The degree to which every one of us participates in the change is a criterion of civic behavior, he said.

Mr. Ginyo Ganev dealt with the work of the legislature. The polarization of society was transferred to the National Assembly hall, he pointed out. It was subject to exasperating extraparliamentary pressure, and seven times throughout its term of office the National Assembly was on the verge of being dissolved. "Many hours of parliamentary work were wasted during the sessions, and no parliamentary spirit could emerge." This was Ginyo Ganev's general assessment of his impressions. Nevertheless, the National Assembly was a guarantor of social peace, and it elected a president and a government. It adopted several laws and the Constitution, which required great effort, he added.

The election campaign should proceed in an atmosphere of tolerance and realistic approach, Ginyo Ganev declared. Let us not forget that narrow-minded party

interests should never be more highly valued than the interests of Bulgaria. New criteria of national security should be adopted today.

Asked about his view on the registration of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], Ginyo Ganev stated that the movement's registration should be canceled. It is irrelevant whether one or the other party is defeated in the elections. What matters is that Bulgaria should not be defeated.

Democratic Party Cites Goals at News Conference

AU2409111591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Report by Elena Shtereva on first news conference of Democratic Party at Union of Democratic Forces headquarters in Sofia]

[Text] The Democratic Party remains a loyal member of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. This is what Mr. Stefan Savov, chairman of the party, announced at the very beginning of today's news conference.

Deputy Chairman Mr. Georgi Markov explained that the Democratic Party is the initiator of the idea that all SDS member parties and organizations should join in a common parliamentary group after the elections.

At the beginning of the news conference, Mr. Stefan Savov described the history of the Democratic Party, which, being the successor of the ancient Liberal Party, could actually be regarded as the oldest political party in our country.

At this moment, the Democratic Party is also the largest group among the SDS members, he declared. He also explained that the Democratic Party has 260 local organizations all over the country and approximately 30,000 members.

Its youth organization is a member of the International Organization of Christian Democratic Youth Unions, while the Democratic Party itself has applied for membership in the European Democratic Union, a fact that determines its orientation. This is what Mr. Stefan Savov explained:

[Begin Savov recording] Our history is the history of liberalism in Bulgaria, but today we are also accepting elements of neoconservatism that have nothing in common with the kind of conservatism that has a bad reputation in Bulgaria because people do not understand what it means exactly. Neoconservatism embodies ideas that are accepted not only by the Conservatives in the United Kingdom but also by the Christian Democrats and the parties of Giscard d'Estaing and Jacques Chirac in France, and so forth. The neoconservative ideas actually represent a sort of improved liberalism that goes to some extremes in its development.

Neoconservatism, of course, focuses on the interests of the individual, of the family, of faith, religion, and so forth. [end recording]

At the news conference, Mr. Georgi Markov explained which laws should be adopted by the future legislature to change the system, according to the Democratic Party.

[Begin Markov recording] The Democratic Party, like the SDS generally speaking, is not in favor of imitating a fake legislation, as the recent Grand National Assembly did. Mr. Ginyo Ganev, for example, is one of the greatest imitators, in my opinion. He even ordered a band to play when the Land Law was adopted, but I can assure you that, in the agricultural areas we visited, there is no music playing. It will not play before 13 October because both the Land Law and the Law on Foreign Investements turned out to be totally unapplicable absurdities.

Therefore, in the coming legislature, we need high-quality, effective, and radical laws rather than laws with beautiful names that are unapplicable. We need laws that are capable of changing the system.

If we were to describe the key legislation of the future legislature, we should by all means mention the requirement for a radical and effective law on privatization combined with a brief and concise law on foreign investments, which, unlike the present one, should create real incentives for investments in our country. [end recording]

Ms. Zlatka Ruseva, who is also deputy chairman of the Democratic Party, drew attention to the need to adopt bills on the restitution of private property, the confiscation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], and full amnesty for the defendants convicted by the so-called People's Court.

BZNS-United Receives Chinese Ambassador

AU2409141891 Sofia ZEMEDELSKE ZNAME in Bulgarian 19 Sep 91 p 2

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME staff report]

[Text] On 18 September, Mr. Tsenko Barev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United], received Mr. Li Fenglin, ambassador plenipotentiary and extraordinary of the People's Republic of China, at the Al. Stamboliyski Memorial House at his request.

During the talks, questions connected with the historic path of the agrarian movement in Bulgaria were touched upon, and the interests of other countries in the Balkan Peninsula, Romania, and the Soviet Union. Stands were taken in relation to the current internal policy in Bulgaria toward the new communist bourgeoisie. The question of the election campaign was also touched upon, and

future relations between Bulgaria and China in various fields of the social, political, economic, and cultural lives of the two countries.

Mr. Aleksandur Stamboliyski, member of the Permanent Board of the BZNS-United and member of the legislature and leader of the International Policy Section, was present at the meeting.

Ecoglasnost Spokesman Fears Future 'Dictatorship'

AU2209072091 Sofia NOVINI in Bulgarian 17 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with Petur Staykov, member of the Ecoglasnost Political Club, by Boryana Kostova; place and date not given: "The Escalating Political Tension Is Likely To Produce a Dictatorship"]

[Text] Despite the fact that the Central Electoral Commission officially closed the registration of political parties and Mrs. Neri Terzieva, the popular television announcer, happily announced from the screen "There will be elections!," the rumor that this would not happen so soon is still circulating in the lobbies of the National Assembly building. There is no unanimous view on future developments in the country following election day—13 October. There are numerous optimistic and pessimistic forecasts. Which of them are realistic? That is the question we asked Mr. Petur Staykov from the Ecoglasnost Political Club.

[Staykov] We allowed the legislature to commit several mistakes that are considerably complicating the forthcoming elections. In the first place, both the parliamentary and the local government elections are expected to take place on the same day. It is true that the campaign of the Union of Democratic Forces-Movement [SDS-Movement] for elections to be held in May 1991 actually provoked the decision to hold them in the fall, which was also our wish, but what did we gain from that? Considering the great inflexibility of the government and of the provisional local administrations, which are supposed to organize the elections, I am afraid that they will proceed under conditions that are even worse than the last ones. Many people are expected to abstain from voting. The hard core of SDS and Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] supporters will be the most reliable voters. Our society will once more be split into two factions as a result.

[Kostova] Those can hardly be the only reasons for the reluctance of certain political forces against holding elections on 13 October. There are strong indications that such feelings exist. Why is that so, and why do the politicians need so much time?

[Staykov] The political formations as such are prepared for the elections from the organizational point of view. However, there are always things that require more time. Currently, for example, numerous party leaders are not yet "ripe" for realizing the requirement of creating a broad centrist coalition. That attitude jeopardizes the possibility that the future legislature will create a strong political center, which we urgently need to prevent political passions from escalating. A danger exists that some of the small formations may not exceed the 4-percent barrier and thus will remain outside the National Assembly. As a result of that, the positions of two extremely opposed superpowers may once more clash in the legislature. I am afraid that it will be difficult to form a government under such circumstances and that each of the two large parliamentary groups may boycott the other group's proposals on a new cabinet. This is likely to further exacerbate social tensions. Nevertheless, elections are required, considering that the media have also contributed their share to discrediting the present legislature. Under such conditions, it is a purely psychological reaction if people should be convinced and full of hope that the new legislature will not be marked by the shortcomings of the former one.

[Kostova] Is it not even more dangerous if such hopes are disappointed?

[Staykov] Yes, great hopes are likely to involve great disappointments when they remain unfulfilled. While the disappointment still refers to individual political figures, it may further extend to the level of institutions, which is likely to produce fertile soil for dictatorship. For a whole year we witnessed various attempts to destabilize the situation in the country. Despite many efforts to obstruct its work, our legislature accomplished a great deal of positive work. Nevertheless, it was insulted and slandered as a body and as an institution. I am convinced that some people from far away have been trying to prepare the ground for a "strong hand" government. Under the conditions of great political instability, people are always inclined to look for a "saviour."

[Kostova] According to some, the danger of a new communist dictatorship is emerging. Do you also think so?

[Staykov] I am not afraid of a restoration of communism. That is no longer possible in our country. I am afraid that the democratic process may be interrupted in our country. If a dictatorial regime should be restored, the question of colors would be irrelevant—there would just be dictatorship. Communism is no democracy, but it does not mean that every form of noncommunism is identical with democracy.

Existence of New 'National Front' Reported

AU2409164691 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Sep 91 p 3

[BULGARSKA ARMIYA staff report: "'Kremlin Coup' Was Prevented on Our Territory"]

[Text] Who is the legitimate leader of the Bulgarian National Front? This is a question we did not quite understand. As a matter of fact, the "clarifying arguments" sounded more like neighborhood squabbles

rather than statements fit for an official news conference. Prof. Nikola Altunkov, the controversial chairman of the National Front, whose rights are being contested and who convened the news conference, dramatically proclaimed that he had been "almost demoted through a coup." He and Mr. Nikola Atanasov, who is in charge of Scandinavian countries within the front, were both very eloquent in their detailed statements. They briefed their audience about the National Front's members, who are supposed to be more numerous than the supporters of the "Bulgarian Crown" but less numerous than the Bulgarian Socialist Party's members. As far as the basic goals and tasks of the front are concerned, they are aimed at rallying the national forces for a new Bulgarian renaissance, which, as was expressly pointed out by the speakers, should be achieved without any violence or dictatorship. The legal registration of the front as a party is in process, as was also announced.

A news item indirectly connected to the National Front, which as a matter of fact recognizes only the Turnovo Constitution and the monarchy as legitimate forms of legislation and government, was revealed at the news conference. It was announced that a new daily press organ, entitled NEW DAY, is expected to appear, thanks to Simeon Coburg-Gotha's generous sponsorship.

Gallup Poll Details Electoral Preferences

AU2409174291 Sofia BTA in English 1717 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 24 (BTA)—If the elections were held today, 33.6 percent of Bulgarians would vote for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) as a whole, 25.8 percent for the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party, 13.6 percent for the Bulgarian Agrarian Party as a whole, and 6.4 percent for the Bulgarian ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, according to a Gallup International survey conducted between September 14 and 19. Yesterday the main television newscast started quoting results of the poll which asked respondents many other questions as well. The results will be televised until the end of the week.

Among the SDS formations the radical opposition in the SDS headed by Mr. Filip Dimitrov ranks first with 51.5 percent, followed by SDS Centre, led by Dr. Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, with 25.6 percent, SDS Liberals, led by Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov, with 14.5 percent, and the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party (which left the SDS), led by Mr. Milan Drenchev, with 6.5 percent.

25.4 percent of Bulgarians would vote for the Bulgarian Socialist Party alliance, 15.5 percent for Mr. Filip Dimitrov's SDS, 12.6 percent for the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United), 11.6 percent for SDS Centre, and 5.2 percent for SDS Liberals. Another 5.2 percent would vote for the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party which left the SDS about a month ago. 6 percent would vote for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, 6.1 percent of respondents have chosen a party different from those listed. 12.3 percent will not vote.

According to the survey, 66.3 percent of Bulgarians have decided their voting preferences, and 25.6 percent are still undecided. 8.1 percent said they will not vote. 91.8 percent of Bulgarians feel free to vote, while 2.5 percent do not feel free. 5.8 percent expressed no opinion on the question.

Havel Addresses Federal Assembly Session

LD2409141191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at the 17th joint session of the CSFR Federal Assembly in Prague—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen deputies. Your fall session that is begining today will most probably be a historic one. This is because you are meeting in a situation where the existence itself of our joint state is actually under threat. The citizens are aware of this, and their worried voices can be heard louder and louder. The majority of them are rightly concerned that their politicians will not be successful in reaching agreement on the future shape of our state. They turn their hopes to you, their freely elected representatives. They expect from you that you will fulfill that which you promised before the elections, that is, that you will lay the legal foundations for a new and democratic system for our state. I believe that you are aware of the extent and depth of your responsibility.

Until now, every time there was a danger that you would not reach agreement on something important, your will to agree won in the end, and you found a way out of the crisis of the day. Our society will tensely wait to see whether you will also be successful this time. This time, it is more important than at any time before. What is at issue is not simply the name of our state, or how many powers the federation will have. What is at issue is the very existence of the state, of which you are the highest representative body, a state in which modern European history is by now traditionally tangled and untangled.

I have already spoken from this platform several times about problems connected with our new statehood and warned against the dangers that threaten us in this search. On 10 December last year, I was here pointing out what misfortunes our citizens could suffer as a result of the parting of the ways of our two republics, in particular if this were to take place in an unconstitutional manner. As an insurance against such a danger at that time, I proposed to you that you adopt a constitutional law on a referendum that should be the only constitutional way for the possible division of our republics, and thus, the way to decide about the future existence or nonexistence of Czechoslovakia. To my great joy, you approved this law in July.

My warnings last year, which many considered to be excessive and unjustified, are today unfortunately showing themselves to be justified. We are under threat of precisely that which I then warned about—legal chaos that would arise as a result of a one sided, unconstitutional act by one of the two republics. The fundamental question that we face is, in essence, very simple. We have only two possibilities.

Our first possibility is to quickly build a democratic state based on the federative principle. This means a state that exists as a result of the sovereign will of the republics that form the state together for themselves and that delegate certain powers to it. These powers are then carried out as a result of their decision, and in a way in which they agree and which will be contained in the Federal Constitution of the relevant federal institution. These institutions should be smaller, more flexible, stripped of bureaucracy. They should not all have their headquarters in the Czech lands. Nevertheless they must exist if a joint state is to exist.

The second possibility open to us is to divide in a legal and civilized manner into two independent states, which will then look for the forms of their future political and economic cooperation.

In my view there is no third alternative.

We cannot have and at the same time not have a common state. We cannot have a common army, a common foreign policy and currency—and not have them at the same time. We cannot recognize and at the same time not recognize the validity of common laws. I consider as unrealistic, not well thought out, and irresponsible, the various views on some kind of a compromise between the existence of fully independent republics and the existence of a common state that some politicians offer to the public. It is not possible to disband the common state and then to reestablish it again. I cannot imagine how this could be done—either technically or politically or psychologically.

Which of these two alternatives I recommend is quite clear. The first alternative: the democratic federation. More and more analyses are piling up on my desk, showing the tragic consequences that the separation would have for the everyday lives of our citizens. At the same time, I—as a supporter of the right of nations for self-determination—am convinced that the decision on this matter should be that of the citizens themselves. The time is ripe for them to give their opinion on this issue. None of our legislatures has the political or the legislative authority to decide this fundamental issue on their [citizens'] behalf or to take steps hidden within which would be a decision or assumption to the detriment of a common state.

Therefore, I take the liberty of suggesting to you to the following priorities, that is immediate priorities, if possible:

1. To discuss and adopt the procedural bill on a referendum;

2. To discuss and adopt the bill on holding the referendum, and thus make it possible for me to decree the referendum for December.

You will have a difficult task in formulating the question that citizens will be asked in the referendum: In my opinion, it should be very brief, clear, and unambiguous. Citizens of both republics should be asked whether or not they wish to live in a common state—in a democratic

federation of two equal republics born from the contractually expressed will of these republics and for their common benefit.

The question should make it quite clear that a common federative state must have as its federal bodies those basic powers that the republics give them—such as, and above all: common defense, common foreign policy, common currency, and federal legislation that is binding for all citizens. The fundamental law of a common state is its constitution adopted by the Federal Assembly.

Third: I also believe that it would be good if you adopted a resolution in which you would support the discussions of both National Councils on the treaty between the republics that would—as a sovereign act of the republics and an expression of their subjectivity—contain the basic principles of our future coexistence in the federation, that is, something like a design of the future set-up of our common state. This treaty could anchor the point that it is based on the citizens' will as expressed in the referendum. If the National Councils manage to draft it during this fall—the December referendum would in fact be a referendum on that treaty. And if its outcome should favor a common state, then it would automatically give the greatest possible legitimacy and be binding for all to the treaty between republics which—after previous historic disappointments—the Slovak political sphere rightly expects from it.

If, on the contrary, the National Councils do not succeed in preparing the treaty by the time of the referendum, then the result of the referendum will give them a clear impulse, a mandate, and the direction to urgently prepare it, or on the contrary, not to discuss it any further. Naturally, it would be necessary for you to show at the same time in this resolution that the adopted treaty on the fundamental principles of the joint state would be for you a binding guide during your work on the federal constitution, in the same way that it should be a guide during the preparation of the constitutions of the republics.

On the other hand, the resolution that you would adopt would, of course, have to clearly state that in the interest of protecting constitutionality, which is your duty, you would consider any possible unilateral steps by individual National Councils that would be in conflict with our still valid constitution, as invalid.

Ladies and gentlemen! All that can be said about our joint responsibility for this state, for the future fate of all of its citizens, for its international position and the role it will play in European history has been said many times, and I shall, therefore, not repeat it here now. I would like to say one more thing in conclusion:

Since our democratic revolution, the situation in our country has never been so serious and acute as it is today. During the next few days, we will see whether or not this revolution, and the elections to which it led, placed into political positions people capable of leading our country through the difficult period through which it must go. We now all face our decisive test that will show whether we have passed or failed. Only now will we see whether we are responsible politicians who are able to sensibly agree and assure a calm future for our country, or whether we have missed great chances for our nations, and whether there is nothing left for us to do than to leave our positions in shame.

If we do not find a joint solution to today's crisis, I myself will also be forced to draw conclusions from this for myself.

I ask you, therefore, to try to suppress—for at least a few days—all that divides you and to find that which brings you together.

Less than two years ago, we heard chanting in our squares: In unity is strength! The echo of this chanting comes to us suddenly from various places now. It is our duty to listen carefully to this voice of the citizens, which is growing stronger. Let us try to find in ourselves the disappearing tolerance, mutual understanding, and good will.

Masaryk said that democracy is a discussion. Discussion does not mean only that we speak, but also that we listen. Let us try to listen to each other, without prejudice and all together, listen to the voice that addresses us through our conscience. May God grant success to your discussions! [applause]

KDH, CSL Agree on Federation, State Issues

AU2409150291 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 23 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Right to Self-Determination; Joint Conclusions From Talks Between the Czechoslovak People's Party and the Christian Democratic Movement"]

[Text] Delegations of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL], which was headed by CSL Chairman Josef Lux, and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], which was headed by KDH Deputy Chairman Anton Andras, rejected a referendum in the form proposed by the Civic Movement [OH] at their talks in Brno on 21 September. In their opinions, this proposal was evidently aimed at the CSFR's extinction.

The delegations decided to submit this and other conclusions from their talks to the CSL and KDH supreme bodies for approval. Both parties recognize the nations' right to self-determination. One possibility to enact this right is to form an independent state. They accept the idea of the Slovak Republic's and the Czech Republic's separate entry into a united Europe, of the United States of Europe type. They note that it would be useful to adopt simultaneously the constitutions of both sovereign republics, their mutual treaty, and the constitution of the common state, because concord between the representations of the republics in these documents confirms their mutual treaty and the constitution of the common state

and their will to preserve the common state. The CSL and the KDH proceed from the premise that, in the event of conflicting contents, it is absolutely impossible to adopt these documents.

Some VPN Districts Call For Merger With ODS

AU2409132291 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 21 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Ivan Rajecky report: "The Movement Is Demanding a Right-Wing Party"]

[Excerpts] The merry-go-round of Public Against Violence [VPN] movement district assemblies got under way in Slovakia last week. They are taking place in an extremely complicated internal political situation, and this was manifested at the assemblies. Apart from fundamental, "internal party" issues, discussions on the current Slovak and Czech political scene and on the constitutional and legal arrangement found their way onto the agendas and were even discussed during the recesses. Activity has intensified thanks to the For a Sovereign Slovakia and For a Joint State initiatives. The recent demonstrations organized by both groups give some idea of the direction the increasing pre-election activity will take. [passage omitted]

Understandably, an important topic of discussion at all the assemblies was the issue of the VPN's future. The course of the discussions to date indicates that the membership is demanding a right-wing type of party. In this connection, it is also being said that the VPN should become more visible, should show its face, and should place itself firmly where it wants to be in the future. It is certain that not all the current registered members will join the new party. This was unequivocally expressed at some assemblies. It is interesting that in some districts in Central Slovakia—and also in East Slovakia, especially in Levice—people are saying that it is unnecessary to create a new party; it is merely necessary to link up with Klaus's Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. The delegates at the assembly in Levice even voted on a name for the new party, a name they will recommend that the VPN republican assembly adopt—the Civic Democratic Party of Slovakia (ODSS).

In this connection, one item of information is interesting. Until now the ODS had been referred to as the most suitable partner for the VPN. Following the "mission" to Slovakia by V. Klaus and the ODS party leadership, it seems that the situation is no longer so unequivocal. Some members of the VPN leadership are even saying that nothing will come of a merger. Perhaps this is not quite the official point of view, because it would probably not be very well received in some districts. [passage omitted]

Faction To Remain in KSCM Until End of Year

AU2409161291 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sep 22 (CTK)— The Democratic Left, a faction within the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), decided at its meeting Saturday it would remain in the party until its constituent congress, due to take place at the end of the year.

Political scientist Zdenek Mlynar, a protagonist of the 1968 reform movement, spoke at the meeting of the need to create a united left which would pursue social justice.

Reacting to the current tension in Czech-Slovak relations, Mlynar warned against the division of Czechoslovakia into two small states, saying they would have no chance of maintaining their existence as national, cultural, and civilized entities.

Mlynar saw a possible referendum on Czechoslovakia's future constitutional arrangement as a last resort meant to free government politicians of the responsibility for the present situation.

Minister Rejects Slovak FRG Treaty Objections

AU2409133691 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka by Josef Vesely in Prague on 19 September: "Firmly, But in a Matter-of-Fact Manner in Bonn"]

[Text] CSFR Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka returned by car from Bonn to Prague on 18 September. He was rather tired when he arrived, so in the end, we gave up on our attempt to obtain the most up-to-date possible interview with him on the important talks with our German partners. The now well-rested diplomat did not reject our correspondent's request for an interview early yesterday morning:

[Vesely] How were things in Bonn, Mr. Deputy Minister? Did the issue of the Czechoslovak state's uninterrupted continuity since 1918—referred to by the most senior Slovak representatives in a letter to your boss, Mr. Dienstbier—come onto the agenda during the fifth round of Czechoslovak-German talks on a treaty between our countries?

[Matejka] First of all, let me deal with the letter. We did not discuss or consider its contents at all. This issue was clear to us within the context of the negotiations. News about the letter caught up with me in Bonn. Of course, we knew about these points of view, and before our departure we agreed that this issue has no significance in relation to the treaty because the Slovak state was never discussed during our negotiations. Even the greatest extremists in Germany—who will in no way sit around a negotiating table with us, naturally—after 1945 never attempted to cast doubts on the state's continuity, but on Czechoslovakia's territorial integrity following the

signing of the Munich dictat, that is, from September 1938 to March 1939. Even according to them, our republic existed at that time—in a whittled-down form and with different borders, but it existed. At the same time, they themselves have conceded that their pseudo-claim to any kind of doubts came to end on 15 March. They recognized that they had better keep quiet as of this date, because—according to these extremists' own formulation—Hitler himself tore up the Munich Agreement by occupying Bohemia and Moravia. Moreover, we and the entire democratic world know that this dictat was never valid. I think that, in today's official German circles, it would be difficult to identify with such an extreme point of view, a point of view according to which Czechoslovakia did not legally exist for a certain period. Therefore, the reaction from Bratislava to the aforementioned part of the preamble really shocked me.

[Vesely] DPA, based on information from the German Foreign Ministry, calls your Bonn negotiations "friendly." Obviously, as a diplomat, you will not refute this. Can you confirm it?

[Matejka] Naturally, we spoke in a cordial manner and did not rail against each other. However, from a matter-of-fact point of view, the negotiations were very tough; therefore, their outcome is not final. We clearly adopted a firm stance on some issues. We did reach a preliminary agreement on some other—to date contentious—points. Now, of course, we have to consider them at home.

[Vesely] One more letter awaits you on your return to the Czernin Palace. It is from the Slovak International Relations Ministry and states that Slovak representatives want to be present at the remaining rounds of negotiations, starting with the sixth round to be held at the expert level, in the CSFR delegation. What do you think of this?

[Matejka] This is also crystal clear. Only officials from the Federal Foreign Ministry can, and do, participate in the negotiations. If the Slovak International Relations Ministry wants to discuss anything with us, this is possible outside the immediate forum of our negotiations with our foreign partner. If Slovakia were to be represented directly at the talks at whatever level, this would create a precedent, for example, for Bavaria, which is the official patron of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft. Can you imagine how this would complicate interstate negotiations? For the same reason, we earlier rejected a demand from our Union of Freedom Fighters, who also wanted to participate in the talks on the Czechoslovak side.

VPN Disagrees With Slovak Objections to Treaty

AU2409112291 Prague CTK in English 0923 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sep 20 (CTK)— The Presidium of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement said it supports the reference in the preamble of a draft Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty to the legal continuity of Czechoslovakia since 1918.

In a statement handed to CTK today, the Presidium said the legal continuity of Czechoslovakia since 1918 is legitimate according to international law and without such recognition Slovakia would not be able to exist under its currently recognized borders.

The statement said casting doubt on the legal continuity of the country would foster unlawful steps leading to the break up of the common Czechoslovak state.

It said the Presidium does not deny the historical existence of the Slovak State, but that its declaration of independence in 1939 did not accord with constitutional norms and immediately followed the Munich Agreement which awarded Czech German-speaking districts to Nazi Germany.

The statement said this action humiliated Czechs and Slovaks alike.

IUS Denies Infiltration by Secret Police

LD2509033191 Prague CTK in English 1959 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 24 (CTK)—The Prague-based International Union of Students (IUS) today rejected charges against it of having been infiltrated by security agents and having helped train terrorists as unsubstantiated and misleading public opinion.

The IUS statement was referring to last night's television statement by Czechoslovak Interior Ministry spokesman Martin Fendrych who said the IUS and other Prague-based international organisations had been infiltrated by former Secret Police (StB) agents and had helped train terrorists. His statement followed a decision on August 21 by Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos to terminate the activities of these organisations on Czecho-Slovak territory.

The IUS denied "any knowledge of involvement in such activities", saying it repeatedly condemned terrorism. It called on Fendrych to present evidence to back up his accusations.

The IUS, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) appealed against Langos's decision.

Vienna Daily on Incident at Bohunice Nuclear Plant

AU2509102291 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 25 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Incident in Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] There has been a leak of radioactive waste water at the controversial Slovak nuclear power plant of Jaslovske Bohunice, near the Austrian border.

As the official CSFR news agency, CTK, reported on 24 September, the incident took place over the weekend [21-22 September]. The water hollowed out the floor, and radiation escaped into the atmosphere, but the situation is under control, it was stated.

Minister on Transportation, Soviet Troop Transits

AU2409133391 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 19 Sep 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Minister of Transportation Jiri Nezval by Jaroslava Fidlerova; place and date not given: "How To Proceed Further in Transportation?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Fidlerova] What are the immediate tasks and aims regarding the linking of our transportation network with the European network?

[Nezval] In road transportation, we project construction of approximately 800 kilometers of motorways by the year 2000. Emphasis will be placed on the following routes: Prague-Plzen-Nuremberg (D5), Prague-Dresden-Berlin (D8), Bratislava-Budapest (D2), and on linking Bratislava with Vienna and Kosice.

In modernizing railroad transportation, 1,557 kilometers of railroads have been selected that will be gradually adjusted for speeds of up to 160 kilometers per hour for passenger transportation and 120 kilometers per hour for freight transportation. At the same time, some sections will be adjusted for a subsequent transformation into high-speed routes, that is, for speeds of up to 200 kilometers per hour. The railroad section between Plzen and the FRG border is to be our trial route.

[Fidlerova] All these investments are extremely costly. Who will pay for them, given our lack of resources for transportation? What is the general financial situation of your department?

[Nezval] The situation is bad, especially in railroad transportation. The department has received for the CSD [Czechoslovak National Railroads] a bridging loan of 4.7 billion korunas that is to be repaid by the end of the year. The prerequisite of repayment is that by the end of the year the CSD will receive 3.3 billion korunas in long-term recovery credit plus 2.5 billion korunas in subsidies. At the same time, the economic returns from the railroads keep deteriorating as a result of the falling volume of freight transportation. The decline is more than 60 percent more than originally expected. At the same time, to be able to at least minimally adjust the railroad workers' wages for inflation, we would need an additional 245 million korunas. [passage omitted]

As far as investments are concerned, the roads are now within the jurisdiction of the republics. [passage omitted] As for railroad modernization, foreign firms have shown an interest, with some of them guaranteeing government credits at 4 percent interest.

[Fidlerova] One last question: What is the present state of negotiations on the transit of Soviet troops [from the former GDR] through Czechoslovak territory?

[Nezval] The Soviet Army is interested in the transit of one or two trains daily at most, through both Czechoslovak and Polish territory. It is interesting that the Polish side offered the Soviet Union transit of up to 30 (!) trains a day, plus a 10 percent discount on international rates. The USSR Ministry of Transportation now demands a similar or even higher discount from us as well. The draft of the agreement, which contains a clause about the possibility of interrupting the transit at any time, is now in the stage of interdepartmental appraisal.

Weekly Analyzes Foreign Capital Investment

AU2409133291 Prague TYDENIK HOSPODARSKYCH NOVIN No. 38 in Czech 19 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by Engineer Helena Plandorova and Ladislav Mincin, doctor of natural sciences: "Investors Prefer Clarity; On the Inflow of Foreign Capital to the CSFR"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] By 23 July 1991, the Federal Ministry of Finance issued, within the framework of licensing procedures, a total of 2,937 decisions on the founding of enterprises with a foreign ownership stake. The combined capital of these enterprises totals 26.357 billion korunas, the foreign participants' capital stake alone represents 11.785 billion korunas, that is, 44.7 percent. [passage omitted]

Companies with a capital stock of up to 1 million korunas represent the bulk (84 percent) of the total number of enterprises with a foreign ownership stake. More than one-half of them (1,187) are companies with the minimal mandatory capital stock of 100,000 korunas. The aggregate capital stock of the aforementioned 84 percent of small companies represents a mere 2.5 percent of the total capital stock, and foreign capital's share in them represents a mere 4 percent of the total capital (455 million korunas in absolute terms).

This shows that most of the foreign entrepreneurs coming to the CSFR are small businessmen establishing joint ventures with Czechoslovak natural persons. They are engaged mainly in trade, consultancy, and mediating activity. [passage omitted] The majority of these enterprises rely on the possibility to purchase foreign exchange, rather than generating foreign exchange themselves.

On the other hand, three-quarters of the enterprises whose capital stock exceeds 100 million korunas are engaged, or intend to engage, in production activity. There are 22 such large companies; that is, they account for only 1 percent of the total number of joint ventures. However, the share of foreign capital in these companies represents 80 percent of the foreign capital total and the capital stock of these companies represents as much as

84 percent of the total capital [of joint ventures registered in Czechoslovakia]. The largest of these companies are listed in the table below:

The Six Largest Enterprises With Foreign Ownership Stake

Ranking Name	Capital in Billion Korunas	Foreign Participant's Country of Origin
1. Skoda (shareholding company)	9.642	FRG
2. Glavunion (shareholding company)	1.907	Belgium
3. Linde Technoplyn (shareholding company)	1.600	FRG
4. Eurotel Prague (limited liability company)	1.133	Netherlands
5. Volkswagen Bratislava (limited liability company)	1.098	FRG
6. Aluminum Decin (limited liability company)	1.098	Switzerland

In the median entrepreneurial category comprising enterprises whose capital stock is in the range of 1 to 100 million korunas, the Federal Ministry of Finance accommodated 438 applicants (15 percent of the total number of permits). [passage omitted] A total of 52 percent of firms in this category are engaged in trade, 51 percent in the provision of services, and 48 percent in production or construction. [passage omitted]

Enterprises fully owned by foreign capital deserve to be mentioned separately. There are 799 of them, 27 percent of the total. Their capital stock accounts for only 3 percent of the foreign capital total and for only 1.4 percent of the total capital stock of all joint ventures. The capital stock of 499 of the 799 foreign-owned companies amounts to only 100,000 korunas, which is the mandatory minimum. This form is chosen mostly by foreign companies establishing a subsidiary here. Many of these firms have as their founder an individual person. This in itself bears out the quality, importance, and intentions of these companies. The capital of such companies comes mostly from Austria (34 percent of all cases) and the FRG (30 percent).

The data base created on the basis of the decisions issued by the Federal Ministry of Finance also demonstrates foreign capital flows. As far as the number of joint ventures is concerned, the first places are occupied by the FRG (873), Austria (833), Switzerland (201), Italy (137), the United States (133), Great Britain (93), the Netherlands (92), Sweden (83), France (72), and Hungary (68). A total of 66 countries are involved in joint ventures in Czechoslovakia. Of interest is the aggregate number of enterprises with foreign ownership stakes, according to individual territorial economic regions: EC countries—1,366; European Free Trade Association countries—1,149; former CEMA, including Yugoslavia—225; other European countries, including Turkey and Israel—19; North America (Canada and the United States)—184; Arab and Asian nonsocialist countries—52; rest of the world—36. Several companies are listed more than once in the above statistics because there are 122 joint ventures, stake in which is held by foreign participants from two or more countries. [passage omitted]

A different picture is provided by statistics of capital committed by individual countries. The first place is held by the FRG with 5.719 billion korunas of committed capital, followed by the United States (1.217 billion), the Netherlands (0.911 billion), Belgium (0.853 billion), Austria (0.833 billion), and Switzerland (0.754 billion). When one compares the number of enterprises with the aggregate committed capital, it becomes apparent that the numerous foreign participants from Austria are engaged mostly in small-scale enterprise. [passage omitted] Among foreign companies that have committed at least 100 million korunas to joint ventures there is not a single company from Austria. [passage omitted]

An analysis carried out according to individual regions reveals that EC countries are involved in joint ventures, the total capital stock of 21 billion korunas, European Free Trade Association countries in ventures with a total capital stock of fewer than 4 billion korunas, and North American countries in ventures with a total capital stock of 2 billion korunas. As for the aggregate foreign capital of all enterprises with foreign ownership stake, participants from EC countries account for 73 percent of it, participants from European Free Trade Association countries for 15 percent, participants from North America for 11 percent, and participants from other regions for 1 percent.

The proportion of joint ventures registered in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic is also interesting. Of the total number of enterprises with foreign ownership stakes, 77 percent are registered in the Czech Republic and 23 percent in the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted] Of the large enterprises whose capital stock exceeds 1 billion korunas, only one, the Volkswagen Bratislava company, was established in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

State Secretary Siwek Views Election Prospects

PM2509084291 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 14-15 Sep 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Secretary of State Slawomir Siwek by correspondent Henryk Sroczynski; place, date not given]

[Text] [Sroczynski] How do you see the situation in the country, looking at it, as it were, from the windows of the Belvedere Palace? Hundreds of political parties are trying to secure parliamentary seats for their candidates....

[Siwek] I see the situation as very serious. Moreover, I could be saying now: "We told you so!".... Apparently, some 900 electoral candidates' lists have been submitted country wide, and in Warsaw alone, we have had 37 such lists. Before they cast their votes, constituents will have to study many thick promotional brochures. A far worse problem is reflected in the fears that, if a large number of parties do succeed in placing their candidates in the Sejm, it will be difficult to form a government. Consequently, the approaching election—the first free election for a great many years—will not be entirely satisfactory. In contrast, the electoral bill proposed by the president but rejected by the Sejm did, as it were, provide incentives for political parties to form coalitions.

[Sroczynski] Much will still depend on the voters themselves....

[Siwek] Yes, this is true. If we concentrate our votes on the few major parties, we will stand a good chance of avoiding a parliamentary crisis in connection with forming a new government.

[Sroczynski] Is it not true that the whole recent conflict in Parliament over the electoral law actually demonstrated a power struggle between the president and Parliament?

[Siwek] In the atmosphere of nervous tension that prevailed at the time, the public was never informed in a direct and clear manner—as I believe they should have been—about what the essence of the quarrel actually was. After all, the difference of opinion between the two sides arose from opposing concepts of the state's future political system. The president's camp declared in favor of a combined presidential-parliamentary system, with strong prominence given to the roles of president and government as those embodying the executive power, while the Sejm opted overwhelmingly for the parliamentary-cabinet option, with Parliament in the position of power and influence.

[Sroczynski] Was Prime Minister Bielecki's recent initiative aimed at obtaining special powers for the government—including additional constitutional powers for the executive power apparatus—an attempt to reopen the same debate?

[Siwek] Yes, in a sense it was an attempt to reopen or continue the same debate. I believe that, instead of launching indiscriminate attacks against all political opponents, every single political force taking part in the present election campaign should devote much time and attention to the question of which political system they would prefer: presidential-parliamentary, or parliamentary-cabinet.

[Sroczynski] Do you not perceive a possibility that four or five major parties could emerge from the present configuration?

[Siwek] Of course, a situation where we would have a few larger parties would be of great advantage to the whole country. After all, a fragmentation of the political scene is not conducive to the effective functioning of a state's political life. Well, we have already lost the chance to speed up the process of unification of a variety of different political options. However, I still hope that this will take place some time in the future.

[Sroczynski] How does the president view the present situation, and what solution does he favor?

[Siwek] Having drawn conclusions from the present situation, the president offered his unequivocal support for Prime Minister Bielecki's latest initiative. He believes that it is essential that adequate conditions be ensured for the government to be able to function properly during the "transition" period. This is because we do not know the results of the election in advance: For example, it may take several months before it is possible to form a new government. In such an eventuality, the old cabinet must be guaranteed adequate conditions to ensure that it can discharge its duties properly.

[Sroczynski] What is the president's position with regard to the two major post-Solidarity groups, the Center Alliance and the Democratic Union? Recently it looked as though the president were turning away a little from the Center Alliance....

[Siwek] The president does not want to influence the results of the election directly, nor does he want to be accused of becoming exclusively involved with just one political option. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the political center camp—that is, the Center Alliance, which provided political backing for the president during the presidential election—continues to provide such backing even today. All the same, the president is interested in the establishment of a pluralistic political system of mutually balancing forces. This is precisely why he has taken care to stress that he is not an adherent of any one option.

[Sroczynski] There are some who would like to set up a presidential party...

[Siwek] Talks about this project have been held—indeed, they are still continuing—but, as far as I know, the president does not have a particularly great interest in this idea, and nothing indicates that he supports any action in that direction.

[Sroczynski] The president's advisers have questioned the claim that he is the president of all Poles. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Siwek] We must distinguish between two different notions here: The president is head of state; therefore he represents us all. On the other hand, as a politician, he is ideologically involved with one particular political group. As he himself has repeatedly emphasized, Lech Walesa's political views fit within the broadly-conceived center group and are closely tied in with the value system professed by Christianity. It is hardly likely that he rejected and turned away from his roots as soon as he was elected president.

[Sroczynski] There is a circle of people in the Center Alliance group who claim that the Democratic Union has placed itself outside the reform camp. You belong to this particular circle. What is your opinion of the Democratic Union's position?

[Siwek] No, this is not quite correct. At the time when the electoral bill was on the Sejm's agenda, the Democratic Union entered into a kind of political alliance, or coalition, with the left-oriented, postcommunist forces. This was attested to by the fact that Democratic Union deputies voted the same way as the deputies on the left-hand side of the Sejm chamber. Of course, we reserved the right to hold our own opinion on this practice, but no one actually placed the Democratic Union outside the reform camp or the Solidarity group. Everyone is entitled to enter into an alliance of his own choice. The only objection is that the public should have been told what was at stake in this particular case.

[Sroczynski] If the Democratic Union wins the election, what pattern will its relations with the president assume?

[Siwek] It is quite clear that the election result will be binding in any case, regardless of whether the Democratic Union or any other group is the winner. Provided that it obtains a parliamentary majority, the winning party will form the government. Elections are run according to their own strict rules.

[Sroczynski] The president is not overly enamored with the present Sejm. This is evident even from such indications as the fact that he is mostly absent during the Sejm's sessions....

[Siwek] The president's presence, or absence, during the Sejm's sessions is, of course, a factor of considerable significance. Lech Walesa's customary absence from the presidential box serves to emphasize his attitude to the Sejm—an attitude which is a residual legacy of the previous system. We were the first country in Europe to initiate political changes; now we are the last. There was a point when we needed to speed these processes up, and there was still enough time to do it then. Now the presidential camp can insist, loudly and openly, that it was right to press for an acceleration at the time. Had its voice been heeded, we would probably have a certain stage of political quarrels behind us now, and we could set about completing the task of building our new economic system.

[Sroczynski] You dislike the present Sejm too, do you not?

[Siwek] It is not so much that I dislike certain deputies, both on the left and the right—which is, after all, a matter of personal opinion—but I simply believe that the role of this parliament effectively came to an end once the presidential election was over. After the public had made its choice of president, the Sejm should have immediately placed the issue of its self-dissolution on its agenda. Instead of which, it began to defend its position....

[Sroczynski] Your attitude to the government is quite critical, too—especially as concerns Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz. Do you believe that Balcerowicz should leave the Bielecki government forthwith?

[Siwek] I do not hide my views on the present government in my conversations at the President's Chancellery. I believe that the Bielecki cabinet should undergo a certain restructuring even now, before the launch of the parliamentary election. I have also expressed the view—which I reaffirm here and now—that Leszek Balcerowicz should leave this government. A major task of introducing radical changes to the budget should have been started back at the beginning of this year. At the time when the proposed budget was submitted to the Sejm, even government circles maintained that it would not hold good for much longer than six months. We have seen that it failed to hold good even that long. It was essential from the start to think not only about the cash balance and whether the accounts tallied, but also about the strategy for overcoming the recession and creating favorable conditions for the development of the manufacturing sector...

[Sroczynski] How do you see the next government?

[Siwek] Everything depends on the election result. Neither I nor the political option with which I identify will enter an election alliance with any forces which sympathize with the communist orientation. We will certainly seek coalition partners in the broadly-based Solidarity camp. After the election, in which the public will be the adjudicator, it will be easier to evaluate the other groups, and it may even be that today's adversaries will be able to hold talks together.

[Sroczynski] The Center Alliance group has launched the slogan of decommunization. How do you see its practical implementation?

[Siwek] I believe that decommunization is something we really need after whole decades under the totalitarian system. You only need to look at this issue from the perspective of a former average, honest, rank-and-file party member. All members of the now dissolved Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] are indiscriminately

charged with evil motives. Now, if a proper evaluation of the past were carried out and those truly guilty were called to account, the honest folk could make their move to the new system without being burdened by the former charges. Communism certainly did leave its mark in our mentality. Even the anticommunists still carry in their mental makeup certain traits acquired under the old system. Therefore, it could be beneficial for all of us to undergo a decommunization process. In my definition, decommunization means a switch to a completely new system of thinking...

[Sroczynski] You are very close to the president; indeed, you have been described as "the president's right hand." How do you envisage your further political career? If you receive an offer to join the next government, will you take it up?

[Siwek] I have put up my name as candidate in the parliamentary election, and I hope to win a seat as a Sejm deputy. Certainly, if I receive a proposal to join the government, I will take it up.

[Sroczynski] There has been speculation in the press designating you as a possible candidate prime minister if the Center Alliance group wins the election and is entrusted with the task of forming the next government.

[Siwek] Speculation of this kind is disseminated by those who would like to "trip" me. When it comes to designating a candidate prime minister, I put my money on Counselor Jan Olszewski.

Parties' Election Committees Discuss Views

AU2409140291 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 17 Sep 91 p 2

['R.Ch.,T.M.'-signed report: "Election Committee Leaders Hold News Conferences"]

[Text] An "election week," during which the leaders of individual election committees will hold news conferences for journalists, began at the Polish Information Agency on 16 September. On that day, journalists met the Center Accord and Democratic Union election committees.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski, chairman of the Center Accord, was the main speaker representing the Center Citizens Accord, as the leaders of the National Citizens Committee and "Patrimony" were unable to attend for health reasons. In describing the coalition's program, he primarily drew attention to the ways in which the coalition differed from the Democratic Union and the liberals.

"The other parties are parties that defend the status quo. They believe that the path that was chosen when 'Solidarity' assumed the government was mapped out correctly. The Center Accord maintains that that path was not implemented in the best way. Mistakes that had very bad consequences were made. One of the mistakes was the policy of wiping the slate clean, which resulted in the preservation of the old structures of communism as it was disintegrating."

"We," said J. Kaczynski, "are in favor of rapid and fundamental institutional changes in the state. We reject the suicidal concept of continuing with things as they are."

The Center Accord is in favor of a dynamic foreign policy. It should, above all, serve to liberate Poland from the old geopolitical structures of the communist system. It should create real guarantees for state security. Questions such as the withdrawal of Red Army units from Warsaw were raised too late and in a sluggish manner.

Regarding economics, the Center Accord and the entire alliance, while having initially given support to the Balcerowicz plan, maintain that now that its basic objectives have been realized, economic policy should be of markedly more intensive kind. The behavior of nomenklatura structures has led to the sharp decline in industrial output, the collapse of the budget, and to permanent recession. Poland will not survive a more serious recession. The Center Accord favors a social market economy.

Asked about the Polish-Lithuanian conflict, J. Kaczynski replied that it was necessary to behave cautiously and to respond subtly to the "sickness of young nationalism." However, one cannot stop resolutely defending the Poles in Lithuania and the entire former Soviet Union.

Speaking about personnel issues, the Center Accord chairman said that he does not see Balcerowicz in a future government. He confirmed that Jan Olszewski was the coalition's candidate for the post of prime minister. In response to a series of questions about a difference topic, he denied that it would be possible to form a coalition with the Democratic Union following the elections, because of fundamental programmatic differences.

"The Center Accord," said Jaroslaw Kaczynski, "is not a presidential party, but a distinct urban-rural political entity with a Christian democratic program."

The Democratic Union: Concerned About the Political Situation in the Country

The 16 September meeting between the leaders of the Democratic Union and journalists began with a statement in which the Democratic Union Council "expresses profound concern over the political situation in the country. The Sejm's rejection of the bill providing the government with special powers will seriously jeopardize the timely payment of pensions and benefits and wages paid to budget-affected employees.

At its Saturday meeting, the Democratic Union Council approved its national election list. The list includes:

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Jacek Kuron, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Aleksander Hall, Olga Krzyzanowska, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Barbara Labuda, and Bronislaw Komorowski.

As the opinion poll results show, the union is a serious political grouping that will matter in this year's election campaign. The journalists displayed great interest for this very reason. The range of topics that questions covered was also great, extending from economic, foreign affairs, defense issues, to the performance of the government that T. Mazowiecki headed. Questions were also answered by Aleksander Hall and Waldemar Kuczynski.

Economic Policy

The union is in favor of modifying the Balcerowicz plan, which does not mean abandoning the course that has already been chosen, and following an inflationary course.... It is a question of providing some state enterprises with an opportunity to expand and export their output by writing off their debts partially or entirely. It cannot be a mechanical process.

Defense Issues

The program contains a concept for the creation of a professional army. This cannot be accomplised at once, because the condition of the state's coffers will not permit it. According to T. Mazowiecki, all borders should be protected equally. That would require the relocation of forces, which is a costly and time-consuming process. According to the Democratic Union's chairman, we should not seek to join NATO quickly. The fact that the military bloc exists in Europe is advantageous for many countries, including Poland; it creates a protective umbrella and guarantees a feeling of security.

The former prime minister did not agree with the view that it would have been possible to bring about the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland sooner. The situation was different in 1989, when "Ceausescu wanted to use force to crush a counter-revolution," and entirely different after the August Kremlin coup.

Position on Events in Lithuania

The Democratic Union believes that the dissolution of the councils is unacceptable, because all Lithuania citizens of Polish descent cannot be deemed collectively responsible. They should be guaranteed similar rights and be loyal to the Lithuanian state.

The Distribution of Power

There is a need to strengthen executive authority, as a president who was elected by universal suffrage cannot perform solely representational functions. So, the institutional structure of the state should be a mixed one: a parliamentary-presidential system. The problem lies in achieving an appropriate balance between these elements.

Property and Universal Privatization

It is not possible to privatize the economy rapidly. The process of attaining the structures that exist in the West will still take many years. Until that time, our "breadwinner," with respect to the state budget sphere, will be the state sector. However, the state sector will not have the form that it has now, that is, the employee councils and powerless management. The details of the universal privatization program have not been worked out properly, and that is why it should not be realized for the time being.

Electoral Commission Rejects Party X Registration

LD2509030591 Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—Government spokesman Andrzej Zarebski said Tuesday that the prime minister, 24 ministers, deputy-ministers, and directors-general of various ministries are running in the upcoming parliamentary elections.

They represent various parties. Nine candidates, among them Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Minister of Labour Michal Boni, and Minister for Privatization Janusz Lewandowski belong to the Liberal-Democratic Congress. Eight candidates with Housing Minister Adam Glapinski represent the Centre Alliance Party, five others—the Democratic Union.

The State Electoral Commission continues registering national election lists. On Tuesday it accepted 11 lists and rejected one submitted by the Party X.

Sources close to the leadership of the Democratic Union disclosed that if the union wins the elections, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Jacek Kuron, and Tadeusz Syryjczyk will become cabinet members. The union's Secretary-General Piotr Nowina-Konopka had no comments on the issue but said that the source (which asked not to be identified) "has no grounds for any speculation whatsoever."

'Solidarity' Commission Considers Bloc Lists

AU2409134591 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Sep 91 p 2

[Tomasz Roguski report: "'Solidarity' Election Alliances"]

[Text] On 14 September, the "Solidarity" National Commission rejected a proposal submitted by the Lower Silesia regional chapter requesting that the union's list of Sejm candidates for the region be combined with the lists of the Liberal-Democratic Congress. On the other hand, proposals submitted by other regions for combining lists with the Center Citizens Accord, the Catholic Election Campaign and the Peasant Accord were approved. The text of the union's election program was also accepted.

The union's national list, comprising 79 names, was also approved. At the top of the list are Bogdan Boruszewicz, Jan Rulewski, and Alojzy Pietrzyk. The positions as far as number 21 on the list are occupied by members of the National Commission who were proposed by the regional chapters with members of the National Commission presidium occupying first place. The positions from number 22 to 42 are occupied by the remaining Sejm candidates who were proposed according to a proportional representation system established by regional chapter boards. The other places are occupied by persons whose names were sent to the union's National Election Committee and exceeded the agreed limit on the number of candidates.

Proposals for establishing bloc lists and for supporting candidates fielded by other organizations were submitted by some of the regions. The majority expressed a desire to cooperate with the Citizens Center Accord. Proposals submitted by regional boards require the approval of the National Commission. The National Commission is only opposed to the formation of bloc lists along with the Liberal-Democratic Congress. "Solidarity" will form a bloc together with the Center Citizens Accord in the following regions: Gory Swietokrzyskie, Pomorze Zachodnie, Zielona Gora, and Mazowsze. In Lower Silesia, "Solidarity" may form bloc lists together with the Center Citizens Accord, the Catholic Election Campaign, and the Peasant Accord. A possible coalition with the "United Tenants and Pensioners" committee and the Catholic Election Campaign was approved for Lodz. The Wielkopolska region wants to form bloc lists with the Peasant Accord, and the Czestochowa wants to form bloc lists with the Center Citizens Accord and the Peasant Accord. "Solidarity" in Kielce will also back Center Citizens Accord candidates to the Senate, and "Solidarity" in Zielona Gora will support one candidate from the Center Citizens Accord and one candidate from the Christian Democratic Party.

Representatives of the Malopolska chapter denied reports that they would support Center Citizens Accord Sejm candidates. The regional chapter decided that it would only field Senate candidates. It has given its members a free hand regarding the Sejm elections. A total of 13 members of the "Malopolska" chapter board's presidium appear on the lists of various groupings, including the Center Citizens Accord, the Democratic Union, the "Viktoria" Party, and the Republicans.

The National Commission decided not to adopt a stance on the support that the Wloclawek regional chapter has given the Center Citizens Accord without the approval of the National Commission. The regional chapter board has transferred 25 million zlotys to the Center Citizens Accord campaign fund. The chapter did not formally apply for approval to back the Center Citizens Accord list.

"'Solidarity' Unites Us," that is what the National Commission decided would be the union's main campaign slogan. Altogether, the union will field 201 candidates in 33 Sejm districts and 36 candidates in 26 Senate voivodships. Lists backing "Solidarity" Sejm deputy candidates were signed by about 165,000 persons. During the election campaign, the TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC offices are to function as an information center. Difficulties are currently being experienced with the printing of campaign fund vouchers. Only vouchers with a low face value have been printed so far and their quality is also poor. The union's treasurer, Janusz Palubicki, said: "You really have to love 'Solidarity' an awful lot to buy one of these vouchers."

Formation of New Peasant Party Announced

AU2409170091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21-22 Sep 91 p 2

['E.Cz' report: "Another Party"]

[Text] "We are in favor of a unified peasant movement, and that is our objective," said Senator Antoni Zurawski, chairman of the provisional board of a new peasant party, the Mikolajczyk "Feed and Defend" ["Zywia i Bronia"] Peasant Party, which originates from the Christian-Democratic Accord of Greater Poland and intends to implement that organization's program.

"Feed and Defend" intends to "raise the status of the Polish people and Polish rural areas." It will oppose "the sale of national assets to foreign hands," instead of which "the entire nation should be enfranchised."

"The whole of society should participate in the distribution of the national wealth, because the whole of society has worked for it," says Zurawski.

The party believes Poland's association with the EEC could cause a sell-out of Polish land. Zurawski said that it lies in the interests of foreign countries to depopulate northern, eastern, and western parts of Poland, but a nation without land is no nation at all.

As far as agricultural policy is concerned, "Feed and Defend" is in favor of protecting family-run farms and introducing very low-interest credits for farmers, mainly for the purpose of developing food production. However, it opposes a proliferation of farms.

Zurawski claimed that the civic rights of young people are not heeded in Poland. To back this claim, he said that there are various directives in force which prevent college graduates from assuming a managerial position unless they have three years working experience. "Feed and Defend" will promote young people, who are supposed to be the basis for the country's moral reconstruction, Zurawski said.

Ideologically, "Feed and Defend" is linked to Roman Bartoszcze's "Patrimony" People's-Christian Forum. It will not nominate any candidates of its own for the parliamentary election.

Recession Seen As Primary Danger to Economy

LD2509031191 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—Head of the Central Planning Office (CUP) Minister Jerzy Eysymontt told a press conference here Tuesday that recession and not inflation was the main danger for the Polish economy. Eysymontt presented a report forwarded to the government economic committee KERM on Monday which concludes with an opinion that "relevant action must be taken to beat the recession, even at the cost of the return of a certain level of inflation".

The Central Planning Office (CUP) has produced two variants in its forecast for the remainder of 1991 and 1992.

In the first variant overall production in the second half of this year is anticipated to fall by 16 percent and a further 11 percent in 1992. The second, optimistic, variant foresees a slowdown in the fall in production to 10 percent for this year, and an end of the recession next year.

Both variants expect 1991 prices will increase by 80 percent in comparison with 1990. For 1992, variant one forecasts that prices will rise by 50 percent and variant two a rise of 40 percent.

The prognoses for the future level of unemployment vary markedly. Variant one forecasts 2.3 million this year and 3.4 million next, while for variant two the figures are 2.1 and 2.8 million respectively.

Government Restricts Imports of Energy Products

LD2509031491 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—The Polish Government adopted on Tuesday a draft decree introducing temporary restrictions on the imports of gas, crude oil and fuels till December 31, 1992, Government Spokesman Andrzej Zarebski announced today.

He said that the move was dictated by the concern over the quality of the imported fuels and denied that it should have any impact on prices.

In order to obtain an import license Polish firms will have to meet a number of conditions, to present contracts specifying quotas, prices and payment terms of deliveries as well as quality certificates among them.

Spokesman: Government Supports Lithuanian Ties

LD2509031791 Warsaw PAP in English 2041 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—Government spokesman Andrzej Zarebski did not confirm on Tuesday the diagnosis of Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis who had opined last Monday that "a strange propaganda campaign was started in Poland against the Lithuanian republic," combined with growing nationalist and expansionist moods.

Zarebski stressed that Poland from the very beginning supported Lithuania's aspirations for independence and the government frequently voiced its readiness to start diplomatic relations with Lithuania as soon as possible.

"Good cooperation with this eastern neighbour, with the individual independence-winning republics, is one of the strategic aims of Polish policy," Zarebski said adding that part of this policy is seeking equal rights for the Polish minority in Lithuania and he expressed his hope that incidents would cease soon without disturbing the development of further relations with Lithuania to which "we attach great importance," Zarebski concluded.

Lithuanian Poles' Fear of Repression Reported

LD2409124191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0500 GMT 24 Sep 91

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Artur (Plokszta), editor-in-chief of NASZA GAZETA, a weekly of the Polish Association in Lithuania, said in an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY, that there are exactly the same fears and anxieties within the Polish community in Lithuania as there were during the coup d'etat.

He said Poles are being dismissed from work and Polish schools and magazines are being threatened. For example, there was a case that during a lesson in a Polish school a Lithuanian commission entered the class and started tearing down the eagle national emblems from the walls. The Poles fear repressions connected with the possible decision by the Lithuanian parliament about being granted Lithuanian citizenship. Lithuanian law provides that every citizen may be criminally prosecuted for the treason of Lithuanian interests. Therefore, anyone who is inconvenient to the authorities may be locked up in prison.

Striking Miners Hijack Trains to Bucharest

AU2509081691 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] According to a telephone report from our correspondent received one hour ago, and as transpires from a communique of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior, during the night approximately 8,000-10,000 miners called for the leadership of the Petrosani Railway Station to organize special trains for them to transport them to Bucharest.

Since their demands could not be approved by the leadership of the Transportation Ministry, some of the miners broke the windows of the railway traffic control building, entered the building, and struck employees who were on duty; then they entered the Petrosani East Police Station, where they manhandled policemen and caused material damage. There were also other serious disturbances in the area of the same station.

The communique of the Ministry of the Interior Press Bureau also says that at around 1 o'clock, in a serious criminal act, the miners occupied by force two sets of trains and some carriages of the No. 244 express train, forcing the railroad workers and locomotive mechanics to start moving toward Bucharest.

The Ministry of the Interior Press Bureau notes that the Police and Gendarmerie are carrying out their duty to reestablish order and have initiated an investigation to establish the identity of those who provoked disorder and broke the law.

Yesterday afternoon, the miners in Jiu Valley and the trade union leaders who took part in the Vulcani strike organized a march toward Victory Square in Petrosani Municipality, which ended in front of the local Town Hall in a protest rally. There, the leader of the Jiu Valley miners, Mr. Miron Cosma read out the communique of the Government Press Bureau. In this communique, the government responds to the miners' claims, approves the renegotiation of miners' wages within the financial possibilities of the Pit Coal Public Corporation, and proposes to Parliament an amendment to the tax law according to which the risk benefit should be a fixed tax free amount.

The Government Press Bureau also issued a communique saying that, although agreement on claims by miners at the Valea Jiului Autonomous Pit Coal Corporation was reached and all claims were answered, work did not resume in the major points where the strike broke out. The government considers this situation completely unjustified and believes that it can endanger the ensuring of coal supplies and coal stocks in the thermal power stations for this winter.

In conclusion, the Government Press Bureau communique calls on the union leaders and all miners to act in the spirit of the good understanding in which the negotiations were held and finalized, and thus to stop the strike and resume work.

The communique also notes that the widows of employees who have died in underground work accidents will benefit from a 50 percent tax reduction. The prime minister has personally launched an action to build certain bakeries in the Jiu Valley, methane gas will be installed in the kitchens of Jiu Valley dwellings, and several other measures will be taken to respond to all claims.

After the participants in the rally took note of this communique, they considered its provisions unsatisfactory and decided to set off for Bucharest.

Government To Negotiate

AU2409190491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1748 GMT 24 Sep 91

["Communique of Government Press Office"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/9/1991—In connection with the Jiu Valley miners' claims the Press Office of the Government informs:

The Pit Coal Public Corporation will renegotiate wages in keeping with its financial possibilities recalculated in conditions of price and tariff liberalization. Likewise, the government will advance the Parliament an amendment to the tax law according to which the risk benefit should be a fixed tax free amount. It also specifies that the working widows of those who died in underground accidents will benefit from a 50 per cent tax reduction. The communique also stresses, inter alia, that maximal limits were set for retail prices of 17 foodstuffs while under the investment law promoted by the government funds will be allotted for building new houses and repairing the damaged ones. The setting up of a recovery sanatorium in the Jiu Valley was approved. The maximum state child benefit will be granted. The government will back the speeding up of mines' reequipment.

A governmental team supervised by the prime minister will see to it that the aforementioned targets are fulfilled and will go to the Jiu Valley to start off the investment envisaged, the communique also reads.

Fota Cites Problems in Foreign Trade, Imports

AU2409152991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1409 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/9/1991—Since last May, Romania's exports for convertible currency have averaged 300 million dollars a month, more than last year, Trade and Tourism Minister Constantin Fota told the press recently. Assessing this as a positive development, he said that on the strength of the eight-month performance of exports, he expected exports to total 4.3

billion dollars at the end of the year, with imports averaging six billion dollars.

Adding to the domestic crisis, a number of external factors had adversely affected Romania's international commercial relations in 1990 and in the first quarter of 1991. Top of the list is the COMECON disintegration which disrupted traditional export markets (especially the USSR) and cut the flow of raw materials and energy sources of major importance for the national economy. With the passage, as on 1 January 1991, to payments in convertible currency for all commodity exchanges between ex-communist countries, Romania was compelled to cut by an estimated two billion dollar worth of its energy resources and raw materials imports, as exports failed to earn as much as was required.

Another negative foreign trade factor was the Gulf War which incurred significant economic costs, including the loss of Iraqi oil imports normally running at 150 billion dollars per month. As a result, Romania sustained 600 million dollar loss in 1990 as a result of suspended oil imports from Iraq alone.

On the other hand 1990 crude imports were four million tonnes down on 1989, taking their toll on processing, hence on processed materials exports adding to the bill.

On top of all this, not only were foods no longer exported in 1990, but 800 million dollar worth of agricultural materials were imported to bring the payments deficit to one billion dollars. A slump in the domestic production of ore, coal and petroleum added to the country's imports bill a further 1.2 billion dollars in 1990.

Program of Hungarian Christian Democrats Issued

AU2409151591 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 19 Sep 91 p 4

["The Program of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party in Romania"]

[Text] Given its special character, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party in Romania [RMKDP] is promoting the public assertion of a Christian system of values in all its activity, and peace, love, and mutual understanding in harmony with justice are the basis of this system of values.

I.

On social-political relations:

a) Full equality and equal rights for all national minorities in Romania, irrespective of their numbers and avoiding the terms minority and majority, because of inherent political, cultural, and other discriminations and limitations. The Christian term of brother nation or brother nations and national minorities expresses the new content.

b) Ensuring freedom of action carried out in favor of developing and maintaining the awareness of national and national minority identity all over the country, aimed at awakening the knowledge of individual and collective rights and obligations. The struggle for a family living according to "Christian values" with the support of the churches and with a new public evaluation of motherhood represents an organic part of the aforementioned requirement.

c) In the community of brother nations, the introduction of local self-government bodies and strict adherence to this on all levels, including territorial autonomy, that could guarantee the preservation and survival of the historically-developed characteristic culture, customs, and coexistence rules of any brother nation living in a single bloc for a longer time.

d) Introduction of two or more languages as official state languages, depending on the number of people living in a given territory, so that local authorities, legislation, and all the other bodies' administration must use the minority's language—in both written and oral form— as an equal state language in places where the proportion of national minority exceeds 10 percent of the population. Mutual knowledge of each other's language is a natural requirement deriving from all this, including mutual instruction of the two languages in schools.

In places were the national minority proportion reaches 30 percent, public authorities must be appointed from among the members of the minority brother nation in adequate proportions, so that the deputy mayor, the deputy county head, or the deputy of any other official belongs to this minority.

e) Local self-government bodies must have proportional representation in the country's Senate, Parliament, and government, thus creating a Ministry of National Minority Affairs with the agreement of coalition parties and organizations.

f) Proportional share of local self-government bodies from the state's incomes (taxes, customs revenues, foreign trade, etc.) to maintain their network of schools, public health care, cultural institutions, and the network of roads.

g) Contribution of local self-government bodies to national defense and maintaining of public order and state security.

h) National minority representation should be guaranteed in the Army and the Police, from the lowest ranks to the highest ones, in accordance with the relevant percentage.

i) In the Army, everyone should be able to decide independently whether he accepts armed military service or chooses the alternative civilian service.

j) Every ethnic minority has a natural right to have close contacts with the mother nation and identical nationals living in other countries to promote their belonging to

the same body of nation, without thus endangering the existence and interests of the Romanian state. In this community, mutual spiritual-intellectual-material support is the prevailing means of carrying burdens.

k) Every national minority has the right to freely use the historically developed national and national minority symbols, colors, and songs both in a collective and individual way.

l) Every nation has the right to create its own national mass organizations and parties, within the conditions and limitations of a multiparty system.

II.

On economic relations:

1. For the benefit of modernizing and developing Romania's economy, we support:

a) the gradual introduction of a market economy;

b) privatization of enterprises by considering the needs of efficiency and social security;

c) the flow of foreign capital for the introduction of high technology;

d) restoration of free trade after the creation of an abundance of goods;

2. For the benefit of agricultural progress, we support:

a) private property of arable land and forests, by taking into consideration the needs of the peasants and by working out adequate legal forms;

b) guarantees of tools and adequate credits necessary for production;

3. Aware of our Christian responsibility for our environment's purity and health, we support the development of a modern environmental protection system.

4. We support a European-level health care and social security system (family allowances, maternity leave, adequate social pensions, unemployment benefits, care for the physically and mentally handicapped, five-day work week, etc).

III.

Within the framework of a modern educational system, we demand the organization of a full mother-tongue educational system, with a separate educational main authority and one-language educational institutions, from kindergartens to university.

IV.

On church and religious matters, we regard as necessary:

a) to implement the churches' self-determination on the basis of "free church in a free state."

b) the free operation of denominational schools and institutions and the introduction of religious education in the timetable, including the state schools, on an optional basis.

c) the return of nationalized charity institutions (hospitals, old-age houses, orphanages), including the return of various schools.

d) the free operation of the denominational and interdenominational press, including regular religious blessings broadcast on radio and television for the national minorities every Sunday.

e) brotherly contacts by various churches with their brothers abroad.

f) the return of all kinds of church property, real estate, and other goods, with particular attention to church archives and libraries.

V.

The RMKDP regards the future of its own nation and country and the future of the European home with ideas and plans outlined above, and it asks the support of every church member and citizen who thinks similarly, for the benefit of our common cause.

FDAR Declaration Defends Anti-Communist Rally

AU2409134891 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 17 Sep 91 p 1

["Declaration" issued by the Steering Bureau of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Romania (United Opposition), FDAR; place and date not given]

[Text] Now, when the whole world is condemning communism with horror, communism that proved to be a monstrosity that led to economic failure and proved to be socially and politically criminal, the leadership that is currently at the helm of Romania, as if portraying the original nature of "democracy" that it pretends that it established, tries to threaten and condemn the organizers of the anti-communist rally held on 6 September 1991, thus proving again its lack of historical actuality, its desuetude, nostalgia, and communist-type of rancor.

At the same time, through declarations made in the two chambers of the Parliament by its representatives, the National Salvation Front [FSN] emphasizes a convincing and evident anticommunist attitude and theoretical statements, while its practical attitude is completely the opposite. Instead of being among the participants in that rally, the FSN parliamentarians spoke out vehemently against it.

Likewise, we must point out the government's provoking and inciteful attitude when it refused to receive the motion adopted at that rally.

To all this, we should also add the typically communist attitude of the country's president and of the spokesmen of the FSN's parliamentary groups, who carry out processes of intention [procese de intentie] and make tendentious associations, just like at the time of political trials held in the fifties and sixties.

From such an attitude, one can understand the intention to create tension and conflict on the political plane at the time of the local electoral campaign and to make psychological preparations for a new "miners actions."

FDAR expresses its complete solidarity with the Association of Former Political Detainees of Romania [AFDPR], which organized the anti-communist rally on 6 September, decisively protests methods used by the current political power, and condemns the fact that Mr. Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, president of the AFDPR and of the International Union of the Former Political Detainees and of Persons Persecuted During the Communist System, was called to report to the Ministry of Interior.

Daring to attack precisely the survivors of communist prisons, the current leadership actually aims at intimidating the whole nation, proving once again that it is not capable of applying—not even now after the fall of the CPSU and the KGB—the principles of justice and truth in the name of which it should have started a real trial of the crimes and criminals of the communist system and not a trial of its victims.

At the same time, the FDAR believes that the Prosecutor's Office, as a rule, should take action against all manifestations of a communist-totalitarian nature.

The FDAR Steering Bureau

PNL's Campeanu on Constitution, Politics

AU2409135891 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 18 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Second part of interview with National Liberal Party President Radu Campeanu by Nicolae Tone; place and date not given: "Radu Campeanu: Politicians Have To Be Above Corruption..."]

[Excerpts] [Tone] What is your opinion about the monarchy? Would it be fruitful in Romania today?

[Campeanu] It was only yesterday that we, the National Liberal Party [PNL], abstained from voting on the first article of the Constitution during the Constituent Assembly session. I have said that we made this decision because of Paragraph 2 of the article that affirms that Romania is a republic, and because we have many reservations in this respect. Why? We believe that Romania's constitutional regime constitutes a very important long-term option of the Romanian people that surpasses the actual tasks of the Constituent Assembly, and we also believe that it is the Romanian people who should decide on the future constitutional regime in its entirety. I did not say, as was reported, that we wanted a referendum to be held before deciding on the Constitution. I did not say that. On the contrary, I said that such a choice should be made the moment the Romanian people are acquainted with all aspects—bright and dark—of one or another regime, so that they may make their choice knowingly. Returning to your precise question, I can say one thing of a general nature: A political republican or monarchic regime is valuable through the people making it up. Should the Romanian people opt for monarchy then—I believe—it should be a constitutional monarchy. That means a regime in which the king reigns but does not rule. The only people capable of making decisions will be the ones who—on the basis of the people's vote—will form the country's leadership. For the very reason that he does not make decisions, the monarch is playing the role of a judge who—first and foremost—has to abide by the constitutional principles and fundamental laws. As for the rest, decisions are made solely by those people who have been elected to do so. [passage omitted]

[Tone] In your view, what are the prospects—especially under the current circumstances—for Romania's "change for the better," as Cioran once put it?

[Campeanu] [passage omitted] Romania's change for the better—I am especially referring to short-term and thus a somewhat more rapid change—can take place solely on the basis of the vote cast by the electorate, namely a change of the regime. [passage omitted]

However, from a long-term point of view, this fundamental change, which we desire so much and which has to be achieved, will detach the Romanian spirit and mind from all the consequences suffered during the 42 years of communism. [passage omitted] Men of culture in particular, but also the church, will have to contribute to this very complex process. Politics have only two things to do in this respect. First, they must guarantee full freedom for these positive intellectual and moral forces, which are called upon to modify all the negative influences on the Romanians of that world from which we have just emerged. Moreover, politics also have to set an example: Politicians have to be above corruption; they have to respect the truth and should not lie or come up with all sorts of incorrect explanations. Politicians have to assume responsibility, honestly and openly, toward the people in everything they are doing.

[Tone] Do you believe in God, Mr. Radu Campeanu?

[Campeanu] Yes, I believe in God. I come from a family with a long-standing Christian tradition. [passage omitted]

[Tone] What do you think of the Romanian Church? Does it lie in its power to decisively contribute to the moral healing of our nation?

[Campeanu] This is a very difficult question, because I do not know the church's high dignitaries very well. [passage omitted]

Federal

Reportage on 24 Sep Presidency Session

Mesic Previews Presidency Session

LD2409132791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Stipe Mesic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, made a statement to HINA today on the possible convening of a session of the Yugoslav Presidency. He said: I have proposed that the session be held either in Zagreb or Ljubljana, or even in any other town which I can get to by a road that is not blocked by the Army. Asked about the agenda of this session, President Mesic replied that there would be discussions on security and the political situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Consideration will also be given to the implementation of the cease-fire decision and the withdrawal of the Army from the Republic of Croatia. Asked when the session should be held, Mesic said as soon as we reach agreement.

Session Meets Without Mesic, Milosevic

LD2409183691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—Members of the Yugoslav State Presidency met in a working meeting at Belgrade's Palace of the Federation at 6 p.m; (16:00 G.M.T.) today.

According to a statement released by the Presidency's information service, the meeting is being attended by five members of the eight-member collective head of state—Branko Kostic (vice-president), Jugoslav Kostic, Sejdo Bajramovic, Bogic Bogicevic and Borisav Jovic—as well as Federal Interior Secretary Petar Gracanin, Deputy Federal Defence Secretary Admiral Stane Brovet and Deputy Federal Foreign Secretary Milivoje Maksic.

According to the statement, the Presidency members are discussing the representation of this body at the forthcoming sessions of the European Parliament in Brussels and of the U.N. General Assembly in New York.

The participants in the meeting will also examine the situation in which the Presidency of Yugoslavia finds itself, the statement says.

The meeting is being held behind closed doors, and a statement is expected to be released at its conclusion.

Bosnia, Lack of President Discussed

LD2409212391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—A meeting of members of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade this evening in line with the provisions of article 47 of the standing orders on the work of the SFRY Presidency, a statement from the Presidency information service says. The statement notes that those who took part in the work of the meeting were Vice President of the SFRY Presidency Branko Kostic; SFRY Presidency members Borisav Jovic, Bogic Bogicevic, Jugoslav Kostic and Sejdo Bajramovic, Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin, Deputy Federal Secretary for National Defense Stane Brovet, and Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milivoje Maksic.

The statement goes on to say:

"The members of the SFRY Presidency present were informed of the political-security situation in the country, and in particular in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was the unanimous view of the members of the SFRY Presidency that these issues should be urgently examined at a session of the SFRY Presidency and appropriate decisions adopted.

The members of the SFRY Presidency were informed about the problems concerning the realization of the cease-fire agreement in the Republic of Croatia.

The members of the Presidency were also informed of current issues of foreign relations, particularly the UN session and the work of the Security Council, and the work of the Conference on Yugoslavia in the Hague.

The members of the SFRY Presidency present were informed that the President of the SFRY Presidency, has, according to his own statement, for a long time been prevented from convening and presiding over sessions of the SFRY Presidency. The members of the SFRY Presidency agreed that the SFRY Presidency president should again be called on to urgently convene a session of the SFRY Presidency in accordance with the standing orders on the work of the SFRY Presidency. The members of the SFRY Presidency concluded that if this inability of the president [to convene a meeting] continues, the conditions will be arrived at, as envisaged in the Constitution of the SFRY and the standing orders on the work of the SFRY Presidency, for a session of the SFRY Presidency to be convened and presided over by the Vice president of the Presidency.

Markovic Discusses Peace, War Issues

LD2409230191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic, speaking on the Sarajevo Television programme "Klub '91", put forward the idea of a coordinating body of the republican governments which would concern itself with the necessary functions of the Federation until the end of the peace conference and with lessening the enormous social pressures and preventing the catastrophe which is looming in Yugoslavia. This would not be a substitute for the FEC.

Asked to comment on the call for the resignation of General Kadijevic, Premier Ante Markovic said: In the Yugoslav Army we are carrying out mobilization for civil war. This is not a military coup, but essentially the Army

is not under the control of the FEC. Markovic also stated that in Croatia there is real war, but he added, clearly uninformed, that for two days now there have been no military operations.

Markovic went on to say that Serbian units and the Yugoslav Army are on the same side and that from this quite clear conclusions can be drawn. He criticized the blockade of garrisons on humanitarian grounds, but he said that he also could not justify the use of forceful methods (?in their defence).

Markovic on Army in Bosnia, Kadejevic Dismissal Call

LD2509004191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Taking part in last night's [24 September] Sarajevo Television's "Klub '91" program, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic described the movement of units from Montenegro into Bosnia-Hercegovina as very worrying, adding that this was the start of a process that had to be stopped immediately. Asked to comment on the government session at which he called for the resignation of the federal secretary for national defense and his deputy, Markovic said that the FEC president has the constitutional right to demand the dismissal of any member of government. Markovic stressed in this connection that the statement by General Veljko Kadijevic clearly shows his position and that this was also evidence that changes in the federal government are needed.

Markovic went on to express the view that a coup had not formally been carried out, but that in essence there had been one. Commenting on the possible involvement of foreign military units, Ante Markovic, said that if the escalation of the military conflicts continued, this possibility should also be taken into account.

Customs Procedures for Humanitarian Aid Reduced

LD2509041991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1442 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 24 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government's Information Secretariat today released a statement saying that the authorized federal ministry has started issuing licences by summary procedure for duty free imports of humanitarian aid shipments containing medicaments or crisis spots in Yugoslavia.

The Federal Ministry of Labour, Public Health and Social Security has shortened the customs procedure to barely an hour, the statement says.

It adds that import permits for medicines by wholesale trade and for the pharmaceutical industry are issued immediately upon request. "Claims that this ministry is delaying shipments of humanitarian aid are false and unfounded," the secretariat statement says.

The Federal Ministry of Labour, Public Health and Social Security is cooperating with the Red Cross organizations of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Vojvodina, the Orthodox Church and the Serbian Emigration Institute, the statement says. These organizations distribute most of the humanitarian aid shipments to Yugoslavia, the government's Information Secretariat said in its statement.

International

Mesic Urges De Cuellar To Strive for Peace

LD2409165291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] President of the Yugoslav Presidency Stipe Mesic has sent the following telegram to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar:

Your excellency, I am addressing you in my capacity as Yugoslav Presidency president and on behalf of the nations and citizens of Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, because of the blockade of the work of the Yugoslav Presidency, we have not reached a consensus on my participation in the session of the UN General Assembly.

At these difficult moments, while the only war on our planet is being waged on the territory of Yugoslavia, the responsibility of the UN organization for ending the bloodshed can be decisive. In this senseless war waged by the putchist army and the Republic of Serbia against the Republic of Croatia 1,000 people on both sides have already been killed. Several thousand soldiers and civilians have been wounded and the number of refugees has passed 230,000. Dozens of Croatian villages, whole towns and approximately a hundred very precious monuments have been completely destroyed.

Following Slovenia and Croatia, a similar scenario of causing interethnic conflicts aimed at forcefully changing borders and conquering non-Serbian nations threatens with new war sufferings in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav crisis has become a true danger to peace in the entire region.

The European Community has been investing considerable efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful way. However, the European institutions do not have a mechanism for sending peace forces, which is now particularly important. Without deploying peace forces along the borders between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina on one side and Serbia and Montenegro on the other, the end of hostilities and lasting peace cannot be established.

Maintenance of a fragile truce in Croatia, respect of internal borders, prevention of aggression, the resolution of political problems through negotiations, and the implementation of a nation's right to self-determination constitute the duty and the permanent interest of the UN organization. Do not allow formal reasons to stop you from establishing peace in this part of Europe. We hope that for these interests you will use your personal reputation and the reputation of the institution which you head.

Tudjman Asks Diplomats To Pledge Loyalty to Croatia

AU2409144291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] After Bozidar Gagro, former Yugoslav ambassador to France, resigned, Belgrade Radio has learned unofficially, albeit from well-informed sources, that through the head of his cabinet, Sarenic, President Tudjman addressed Yugoslav ambassadors from Croatia and asked them to make a verbal statement pledging loyalty to the Croatian leadership and express readiness to protect Croatia's interests.

Along with this demand to Croatian diplomats, it was stated that a large number of cadres have allegedly already expressed their stand and made themselves available to the present Croatian leadership. In these contacts with Croatian diplomats—and there are, by the way, 12 Yugoslav diplomats from Croatia in the world—one gives the example of Bozidar Gagro, Yugoslav ambassador in Paris, who resigned, and it is said that others should follow his example.

Croatian diplomats are asked to state their views immediately. Their reaction and views about this demand have still not been known. What is obviously involved here is the further realization of conclusions that the Croatian Government adopted at the end of August. Involved is Article 7, which says that Croatian representatives in the diplomatic service can remain there for the time being, but that they should interpret official views and interests of the Republic of Croatia until they are given new instructions.

Ambassadors Express Loyalty

LD2509094191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] The office of the president of the Republic of Croatia has announced that the following Yugoslav ambassadors have expressed their full loyalty to the Republic of Croatia and readiness to leave the Yugoslav diplomatic service if requested by the Republic of Croatia: Dr. Zoran Andric, Yugoslav ambassador to Manila; Dr. Ivan Brnelic, ambassador to Vienna; Bozidar Gagro, ambassador to Paris; Dr. Ivan Ivekovic, ambassador to Cairo; Dr. Zoran Jasic, ambassador to Kuala Lumpur; Vanja Kalodjera, ambassador to the United Arab Emirates; Vjekoslav Koprivnjak, ambassador to Jakarta; Frane Krnic, ambassador to Santiago de Chile; Dr. Ivica Mastruko, ambassador to the Vatican; Rudolf Mazuran, ambassador to Buenos Aires; Dr. Andjelko Runjic, ambassador to Moscow and Dr. Hrvoje Skoko, ambassador to Kampala.

Many general consuls, advisors and officials of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs have also pledged their full loyalty to the Republic of Croatia.

Greek, Bulgarian Treatment of Macedonians Criticized

LD2509041191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1511 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, September 24 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav delegation at the Moscow conference on human rights Ljupco Naumovski said during last night's debate that Greece and Bulgaria were in "flagrant violation" of the rights of the Macedonian minorities there.

Naumovski said that Yugoslavia had from the beginning of the process of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the activities of the United Nations (U.N.) in the area of human rights "promoted the need to recognize national minorities and the protection of their rights," but he said that Yugoslavia's hopes that neighbouring countries where Macedonian minorities live would do the same have not been realized, "except for some positive trends in Albania," as he said.

Naumovski said that the Yugoslav delegation was asking Greece and Bulgaria to "recognize the national rights and secure the elementary freedoms of the Macedonian national minority who live in their territories."

Naumovski said that there were an estimated 230,000 ethnic Macedonians in northern Greece and also about 230,000 ethnic Macedonians in southwestern Bulgaria.

Bulgaria and Greece, Naumovski underscored, "completely ignore the obligations taken over by the Helsinki Final Act regarding the protection of the Macedonian minority," and also by the articles of the documents adopted later by the CSCE in Madrid and Vienna.

Naumovski asked for the opening of the "first degree of the CSCE mechanism" against Greece in order for it to improve the situation regarding human rights and the elementary freedoms of minorities.

Naumovski said that the Macedonian minority had been recognized in Albania recently, "but not the number of 140,000 ethnic Macedonians."

Zagreb Newspaper Foresees Greater U.S. Involvement

LD2509043591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—"A broader U.S. engagement in the settling of the Yugoslav crisis can be expected after Europe's failure," the daily VECERNJI LIST, published in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, says today.

A threat exists that foreign countries could become indifferent again and presume, as they have several times

so far, that the signing of the ceasefire agreement meant a crucial step towards peace, the daily sets out.

"If so, the fragile ceasefire will not last long," VECERNJI LIST says.

The ceasefire agreement was signed on Sunday between Yugoslav Defence Minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Slovenia

Assembly Votes To Open Foreign Missions

LD2409204391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—The commission for international relations of the assembly of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia today approved a proposal for Slovenia to open bureaux in the capitals of all the Yugoslav republics, as well as in Washington, Rome, Bonn, Budapest, Paris, Strasbourg and Tel Aviv.

The parliamentary commission also approved an establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Lithuania and said that steps would be taken to establish diplomatic ties with other countries.

Slovenia unilaterally proclaimed independence on June 25. The decision was suspended for three months under a Brioni declaration of July 7.

Before the moratorium expires, the Slovenian parliament will meet to decide on further steps for Slovenia's independence, the commission said.

Croatia

Government Demands Army Withdraw From Territory

LD2409172491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Report by Andjelko Perincic]

[Text] This is Andjelko Perincic reporting from the session of the Croatian government which ended a few minutes ago.

At the start of the meeting the government endorsed a proposed statement on violations of the cease-fire agreements in the Croatian theater of war. The statement lists all peace efforts promoted by Croatia since the Brioni agreement was signed, including the orders by President Tudjman and General Kadijevic three days ago. Emphasis is placed on the criticism of the Yugoslav Army and Serbia, which put their signatures on the agreements but instead of observing them have continued to prepare for fresh attacks and further violations of the peace agreements.

The statement stresses, in conclusion, that the Yugoslav Army must observe the latest absolute cease-fire, and halt all attacks and movements of its units in and in the direction of the Republic of Croatia in line with the cease-fire agreement obligations. The army must also withdraw from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The pace of the withdrawal will be agreed on with Croatian authorities. All equipment, facilities and weapons will be left at the disposal of the Republic of Croatia. All officers and soldiers who wish to stay in the Republic of Croatia will be guaranteed their status in the former Yugoslav Army in line with the decisions of the government of the Republic of Croatia passed at the end of August. All officers and soldiers who do not wish to remain in Croatia and who voluntarily surrender to Croatian authorities will be guaranteed personal safety and safe departure from the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

This is the original draft of the statement that was eventually adopted, but the government also adopted but did not include it in the statement, the standpoint that military rank should be guaranteed only to those officers who were not involved in attacks on Croatia after the cease-fire orders of President Tudjman and General Kadijevic, that is, after 18 September.

Another proposal put forward was to guarantee their military rank to all retired officers.

Taking part in the debate, Franjo Greguric, president of the government, stressed that the units of the Belgrade First Army District today again failed to observe the order of General Kadijevic as demonstrated by today's artillery, tank and air attacks on Vinkovci. He added that the territorial defense in Yugoslavia was initially established to defend the territory on which it was set up and not to carry out aggressive action against other territories. This is yet more evidence that neither the Constitution nor military regulations are being observed. He said in conclusion that the Croatian government statement would allow the Yugoslav Army and its officers to depart from Croatia in an honorable way. If they refuse, different measures will be taken against them.

The Croatian government today also adopted a regulation under which prisoners of war will be treated according to the Geneva Convention. The internal affairs minister will decide on locations where the prisoners will be kept. The commission which will have responsibilty for the implementation of the above decision will be chaired by Ivan Milas, deputy internal affairs minister. A suggestion was made that the commission should also include prisoners' relatives.

Minister Without Portfolio Drazen Budisa, who has just returned from Dalmatia, recommended an investigation into, as he put it, the shameful surrender and abandonment of Drnis.

It was also announced that 11,460 people have so far deserted the former Yugoslav Army in Croatia including

as many as 5,983 officers and 3,423 civilians or almost the half of the Army's personnel in Croatia.

Zagreb Radio Reports Army 'Slaughter' of Reservists

LD2409192391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] A report has just reached us from Vinkovci about yet another gruesome slaughter committed by officers of the Serbo Army. They killed several hundred reservists near Vinkovci who, in desperation and hopelessness because of the war they have been forced into, laid down their arms and intended to surrender to the Croatian Army. According to Croatian Television this evening, the reservists were fired at from machineguns and even tanks.

Croatian Officials Meet Krajina Information Minister

LD2409192691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Knin, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—A TANJUG correspondent has learned from reliable sources that representatives of civilian authorities in Sibenik and Zadar today met Lazar Macura, the information minster in the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, on the borderline of conflict between Croatian and Krajina forces.

This meeting was initiated by the current authorities of the mentioned municipalities. The content of the talks is still unknown—we only know that the initiators of the meeting put forward their demands.

Tomic Tells Andreotti: 'Yugoslavia is Dead'

LD2409222191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2005 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Rome, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—Vice-Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today told Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti that Croatia, Slovenia and the parties of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo 'are convinced that Yugoslavia is dead and that it is necessary to recognize its component parts as subjects of international law'.

Andreotti today met with Tomac, deputy foreign minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Zoran Taler and leaders of ethnic Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo Shkelzen Maliqi and Lazer Krasniqi.

According to Italian Government spokesman Pio Mastrobuoni, Andreotti said he was convinced that 'the crisis must be resolved by peaceful means'.

Andreotti also stressed the need for dealing with 'specific problems' in Yugoslavia, especially the rights of 'all minorities', the spokesman said.

Blockade of Vinkovci Garrison Lifted

LD2409220491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Excerpt] For Croatian radio, Mirko Hunjadi reporting from Vinkovci.

After a whole day of brutal bombing by the Serbian occupation army, Vinkovci is somewhat quieter this evening. An indication of a certain easing can be detected from the statement for the public issued from the crisis headquarters of the Vinkovci municipality via Radio Vinkovci. The statement says: On the basis of a general and particular evaluation of the situation and consultations carried out by the relevant organs and services in connection with the Duro Salaj garrison in Vinkovci, which has been surrounded by the National Guard corps, it has been decided that the force manning the Vinkovci garrison should leave the garrison in the next 24 hours.

The crisis headquarters assures the citizens of Vinkovci that this decision is of crucial importance and has a far-reaching effect, and calls on everyone to observe it. This decision is the result of the order of the crisis headquarters of the Republic of Croatia and the competent ministries of government of the Republic of Croatia. We feel sure that the people of Vinkovci will, as hitherto, accept this decision in a disciplined manner and will not jeopardize its implementation by individual actions, because the great destruction which the town has suffered obliges us to respect the defense strategy which will take us to our ultimate objective with the fewest possible losses.

And there were sacrifices for the homeland in Vinkovci today as well. According to information gathered so far, in today's bombing of the town, five people died and 14 were wounded. [passage omitted: material damage, people in shelters again tonight]

Plane Downed in Vinkovci; 'Chemicals' Dropped

LD2409122491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Today is the most difficult day of the war in Vinkovci. The occupiers' aircraft are bombing the town constantly. The citizens of Vinkovci are in their shelters for the ninth day. The criminal occupying army is, among other things, using cluster bombs which are banned by international law. It is obvious that they want to destroy Vinkovci, as they have Vukovar, but the morale of the Croatian defense forces in Vinkovci is the same as that in Vukovar.

One enemy aircraft has been shot down. In Vinkovci, too, the occupiers are dropping little objects like pencils from the air. These are in fact small explosive devices or are filled with poisonous chemicals. The radio station in Vinkovci is constantly warning citizens not to touch these objects.

Pakrac, Lipic Under 'Heavy' Attack

LD2409120191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] According to the latest information from the Pakrac battlefield, which came in a few minutes ago, Pakrac and Lipik are coming under heavy attack by tanks, cannons, and mortar fire. By all accounts, the attacks are coming from the direction of Okucani, or Donji Caglic, where around 30 dug-in tanks, armored vehicles, and trucks have been spotted. Tanks also have been seen in the village of Subocka near Lipik. An air raid alert is in force in Kutina, Pakrac, and Daruvar and the surrounding area because several aircraft have been noticed.

Cease-Fire Violations in Vukovar Region Reported

AU2409141191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Mirko Stankovic report from Vukovar]

[Text] Immediately after the cease-fire was agreed and the Yugoslav People's Army and the territorial defense had stopped their activities, the shelling continued on the Army positions in the area of the barracks and, at about 1800, Croatian fighters opened strong mortar fire on the Yugoslav People's Army units stationed in the zone dividing the two warring sides in Borovo Selo. The Army was therefore forced to launch an energetic response.

On the same day, Srijemske Laze was attacked from the direction of Stari Jankovci and Slakovci. Three people were slightly wounded. Last night, Ustasha formations carried out a series of mortar attacks on Trpinja, Brsadin, and Pacetin. The Serbian side responded using all available weapons, but only after the attack had intensified to such an extent that it had become extremely dangerous. Fortunately nobody was injured.

In the clash near the (?Djerge forest), twelve guardsmen have been injured. Fire was also exchanged between Laslovo and the Serb village of Palaca, as well as between Stara Tenja and Nova Tenja. After the Tovarnik [word indistinct] ignored the demand by the Yugoslav People's Army to hand over weapons, the Army set about a mop-up operation in the village and with resolute action broke the resistance of the members of the Black Legion and of the so-called National Guard Corps. About 10 snipers' nests in the western half of the village have been silenced and it was dusk when the last member of the Croatian Army ran away, one of those who had ignored both the Croatian leaders's order and the call of the Yugoslav People's Army to lay down their arms. A Yugoslav flag has been flying in Tovarnik since this morning.

By the way, in this region a peace agreement is not worth the paper it is written on. People in the know claim that real panic is reigning among Croatian fighters in Vukovar and that it is one of the reasons that last night and this morning, they ignored not only Franjo Tudjman's order on a cease-fire, but also the order of Marin Vidic, Croatian Government official in charge of Vukovar. They therefore tried to break the siege of the Yugoslav People's Army units as many as four times during the night.

Fierce Attacks Launched on Pakrac

LD2409160491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Since this morning Pakrac and its vicinity have been under fierce fire attacks which lasted for full six hours. After a short lull which took place around 1530 attacks continued more fiercely around 1600. There is firing from heavy weapons—cannon, tank cannon and mortar launchers—on Pakrac, Lipik, and across the Pakra River. Around 1610 an infantry attack started on Dobrovac, Filipovac, and Lipik from Japaga, Subotska and Skenderovac. Fire from all weapons is particularly directed toward the housing area across the Pakra River. At the same time battles are being waged near Badljevina.

This fierce attack from all weapons is being resisted to the utmost by our defense forces. Reinforcements from all surrounding villages have been sent to them and several units are armed with powerful war equipment in order to repulse the extremely strong aggression, which is obviously synchronized by the Serbian and army terrorists.

Navy Ship Fires on Hill at Split

LD2409180191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Excerpts] An hour ago the occupying Navy opened fire from its ships in the waters off Split. The cease-fire thus also has been violated by the Navy. According to still incomplete details, fire was opened on Marjan Hill from Ship 31, which was stationed in the port of Split, obviously without any reason. We also have learned that the western point of Marjan is smothered with smoke, but the Split fire brigade already has arrived there and the fire is now, at 1700 [1500 GMT], completely under control.

The Split crisis headquarters received a statement from the Navy destroyer Zagreb that fire had been opened from Marjan and that they opened fire only in response to the attack; they are now threatening to set the whole of Marjan on fire. The crisis headquarters in Split has denied this, however, and stated that none of the members of the Croatian National Guard or the police gave any order to open fire, because they are abiding by an agreement reached between President Tudjman and General Kadijevic. [passage omitted]

We also have learned unofficially from eyewitnesses that fire was exchanged between one big and three small Army ships. One of the ships was hit and sailed off,

covered in smoke, toward Brac, most probably to Bobovisca and Milna. The big Army ship is still patrolling between Sutivan and the island of Solta, and what is really happening there is very difficult to say.

Clashes Continue in Vinkovci, Osijek, Vukovar

LD2509003391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2114 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Vinkovci/Osijek, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—All day today Croatian forces continued their attacks on the Yugoslav Army barracks in Vinkovci, a town in eastern Croatia, military sources say.

TANJUG reporters say that the situation in other crisis areas in this Yugoslav republic was relatively calm, with some sporadic shooting.

According to military sources, the Yugoslav Army units sent to break the blockade of the Vinkovci barracks, for days the target of attacks by Croatian forces, reached the outskirts of the town this afternoon.

Croatian radio reported that "Vinkovci has been the target of the fiercest bombing in the past ten days" and that "the centre of the town has been raided and considerably damaged".

The radio also said that "various explosive devices have been dropped from the air", and advised citizens against touching them "because they may contain poisonous chemicals".

Sources close to the Air Force Command categorically deny these allegations.

Until this evening, military sources have neither confirmed nor denied Air Force raids on Vinkovci and nearby Osijek.

The situation in the Osijek area is relatively calm with sporadic mortar fire.

Military sources say that Croatian armed forces sporadically shell from mortars new positions of Yugoslav Army units which left the barracks in the town, and that the Army is responding to some of the attacks.

The situation is similar in Vukovar, another town in the Croatian region of Slavonia. There are no major clashes, but mortars are not silent.

Serbian sources say that Serbian territorial defence units are attacking Croatian forces. Croatian radio reported "an attack on Vukovar from multiple rocket launchers".

Since the beginning of this month, Vukovar has been under total blockade by Serbian territorial defence and Yugoslav Army units.

According to Croatian radio, a battleship today opened fire on Mt Marjan rising above the central Adriatic port of Split "for no reason". The same source said that the Split crisis committee was informed from the battleship, the destroyer Zagreb, that the vessel only returned fire after being shot at from Mt Marjan.

New Clashes Reported in Vukovar, Borovo

LD2509071291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] It was another difficult night for the people of Vukovar and Borovo. The occupying force which yesterday afternoon launched a brutal attack on the Croatian defense forces in Borovo Naselje and which, as ususal, forgot about civilians, continued to operate overnight. The enemy's fire was targeted at Borovo Naselje from the direction of Brsadin, Trpinja, Lipovaca, and Borovo Selo. Vukovar was shelled from Negoslavci, Petrova Gora, and Backa. The enemy did not advance despite the heavy shelling and its attacks with artillery, tanks, and mortars were launched from its original positions. Heavy-weapons fire went on until midnight, when infantry weapons were used. There are new casualties in Vukovar this morning.

Cease-Fire Breached in Novska Region; Attack Continues

LD2509083691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0805 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] There has been a breach of the cease-fire in the Novska region. The joint army and terrorist attack on Novska began at exactly 0730 this morning and is still continuing. Army helicopters flew over Novska last night in an attempt to reach the positions of the Serbian terrorists and renew their supply of ammunition.

Zagreb Reports Cease-Fire Violations in Western Slavonia

LD2509085491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Fajgl]

[Excerpt] According to a report just received from the Nova Gradiska emergency center, units of the occupying army from the Banjaluka corps, which include reservists and voluntary detachments from Bosanska Krajina, continue to breach the cease-fire order in western Slavonia. Mortar launchers and machinegun fire were used to shell Dragalic overnight. Donji Bogicevci was shelled from the positions on the footbridge over the Zagreb-Belgrade highway. Croatian defense forces did not respond to these provocations from the occupying army.

Although we have no detailed report, we have learned that last night the army clashed with reservists and volunteers. This resulted in an exchange of fire in which, it is now known, eight people were hurt on each side.

A number of special military helicopters with engine mufflers flew over the battlefront in the Nova Gradiska crisis area at about 2300 last night surveying the terrain. [passage omitted]

Attacks on Nadin Continue; Conflict Escalating

LD2509101391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Report from Zadar by correspondent Toni Pajkin]

[Text] Attacks on the village of Nadin in Benkovac municipality have continued since shortly before midnight last night. According to the latest reports, as of 0900 this morning, the enemy has fired more than 200 mortars at the Croatian defense forces. Enemy actions are still going on with unabated fierceness. The defenders of Nadin are not giving up and are successfully preventing the occupying forces from advancing.

The enemy army has been on the move constantly throughout the morning in the Zadar area. Shortly after 0900 a helicopter took off in the direction of the Chetnik stronghold at Biljane. A transport plane landed at Zemunik airport [near Zadar] at about 1000. A Galeb plane also took off from the same airport in the direction of Pag island. Peace in this area has been breached and, the conflict is escalating by the minute.

Zagreb Daily Published in Slovenia

LD2509043991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—The latest issue of the weekly DANAS, published in the Republic of Croatia's capital Zagreb, appeared on news-stands with delay, since it was printed in Ljubljana, the capital of the Republic of Slovenia.

The printing-office of the Vjesnik publishing house, the publisher of DANAS, refused to print the weekly "due to high unpaid debts."

DANAS owes seven million dinars (around 400,000 German marks) to the Croatian printing-works, which is the new name of the Vjesnik printing-office.

Some other Vjesnik's editions owe much higher amounts—the enterprise Revijalno Izdanje owes 34 million dinars, the daily VJESNIK around 25 million, and the popular tabloid ST over nine million dinars. Glasnik of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union owes around five million dinars.

DANAS, known for its independent political stands, has warned of late that it was under political pressure from the Croatian authorities.

Serbia

Rugova Speaks About Kosovo Situation

AU2409070391 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 14 Sep 91 p 3

[Behxhet Halili report: "There Will Be No Local Elections in Kosovo"]

[Text] There is no end to the repression in Kosovo. The dismissal of Albanians from their jobs continued this week, and was followed by blockades of Albanian villages. Yesterday, large numbers of police surrounded the villages of Mushtisht and Bukosh near Suva Reka, while Raushiq and other villages near Pec were surrounded the day before yesterday. We have reports that one person was wounded in Bukosh. These mass repressions against Albanian villages recall those of the twenties and thirties, when the Serbian authorities tried to pacify Kosovo by force. The militia is asking for weapons in the villages of Baran and Raushiq, as usual, and is instructing villagers what to do: Sell their cows, buy guns, and then hand over the guns, a tactic recalling the Rankovic era and the notorious campaign for the collection of weapons from the Albanians [1955-1956].

Thus Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK] chairman, began yesterday's LDK news conference. He went on to say that the murder of the militiaman in Mushtisht near Suva Reka had been staged in order to give the Serbian militia a pretext to enter Albanian villages en masse. More than 50 citizens were detained by the police in Mushtisht and Bukosh yesterday and similar things happened in Baran. If Serbia has embarked on this kind of terror and repression against the Albanians, Rugova said, still worse may happen. This terror and repression against the Albanians has probably increased following the recent visit of the Serbian socialists, the former communists Skundric, Seselj, and Jovic. With its new threats and provocations against the Albanians, the Serbian regime is struggling to keep itself alive for one more day through violence and repression. Rugova said, however, that we tell them, especially Chetnik war minister Seselj, that we will not allow him and his friends to commit filthy deeds in Kosovo as they did before and after the war, disguised by partisan caps.

The Serbian Authorities Want Massive Confrontations With the Albanians

At yesterday's regular LDK news conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova most strongly condemned the brutality of the Serbian police at the peaceful gathering of teachers and other Albanians in Pristina last Tuesday [10 Sep]. According to Rugova, this was a sign that the present Serbian regime not only does not want any kind of contact with the Albanians but, on the contrary, wants to cause massive confrontations.

We repeat for the umpteenth time our warning to the Serbs of Kosovo that they should think about what they are doing to their Albanian neighbors. I want to ask again today, Rugova said, whether the Serbs of Kosovo intend to continue to live in Kosovo and to continue to collaborate with extremist groups from Serbia and this extremist Serbian regime.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova then condemned the most recent incidents on the Albanian border and said that it is now clear that the Yugoslav adventurers want to incite new

conflicts. These conflicts with Albania have now lasted several months, and now the Army wants conflicts with Hungary. If the Army continues to behave in such a way against everyone but the Serbs, it will indeed end up like a collection of adventurers and not a regular army.

I would like to use this occasion, the LDK chairman said, to welcome the statements by Van den Broek, Genscher, and Baker on Kosovo and the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Rugova judged this to be a good indication that Europe wishes to involve the Albanians in the peace conference in The Hague. Yugoslav diplomacy, like the Army, however, unfortunately remains dogmatic and still refuses to accept any criticism or well-intentioned advice. This shows that this diplomacy and this Army want to defend something that is indefensible and cannot be preserved in its present form. It is time for even Yugoslav diplomacy to come closer to European ideas and European integration.

Rugova demanded an urgent end to the war in Croatia. According to him, this should be demanded first of all from the Army, because the Army is the main culprit in everything. It has used its opportunity in Croatia, and will try to do the same in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

The Army Carried Out a Military Putsch When It Intervened in Kosovo

VECERNJE NOVOSTI's correspondent asked the LDK chairman what he meant when he said that the murder of the militiaman in Mushtisht was staged, and whether Dr. Rugova was not threatening the Serbs of Kosovo when he said that "they should think about what they are doing to the Albanians." Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the case of the militiaman was staged in the sense that the murderer has not been found, and this does not give anyone the right to cause carnage in Albanian villages. They are simply trying to find someone who will admit to killing the Serbian militiaman. Such methods are unbecoming to any kind of authority. As for the second question, he said that the Serbs have gone too far in their repression of the Albanians. Perhaps what I said can be taken as threatening. I cannot help that, although I personally have never wanted to threaten anybody, and nor has the party that I lead. I said it with good intentions, because politics change, but people remain.

Yutel's correspondent asked Dr. Rugova to comment on the announcement that a Serbo-Greek-Bulgarian meeting will be held in the next few days in Greece. Dr. Rugova said that he thought this was an attempt to revive the policies of the beginning of this century. Rugova said, however, I do not think the same conditions that would permit such territorial and political bargains are present today.

Radio Croatia's reporter asked the LDK chairman to comment on Stipe Mesic's order to the Army. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the order was a valid one and that Mesic issued it with good intentions. What can you do when the Army does not even obey such orders?

Croatia Television's correspondent asked: "Belgrade says that Mesic wanted to carry out a coup d'etat, while Mesic says that the Army has carried out a military putsch. What do you think about this?" Dr. Ibrahim Rugova replied that he did not think there was any question of a coup d'etat, but that it was a matter of a normal order within the authority of the president and the Yugoslav Presidency. I think, Rugova said, that the Army carried out a military putsch on the day that it left its barracks in Kosovo. The war in Croatia will continue until this Army comes to its senses, Rugova said.

Asked by the same reporter to comment on the latest movements in Euro-American diplomacy in connection with the Albanians (the latest resolution of the U.S. Senate, Baker's threats addressed to Serbia and the Army from Moscow, the signing of the document for the Albanians' participation in the peace conference for Yugoslavia, etc.), the LDK chairman said that he welcomed the U.S. Senate resolution determinedly demanding that the Albanians of Kosovo should take part in the talks in The Hague. He also welcomed the resolution of the European Parliament demanding the Albanians' participation at The Hague. I hope, Rugova said, that we will take part in the proceedings of this high-level meeting.

OSLOBODJENJE's correspondent asked whether the Albanians of Kosovo will take part in the local elections to be announced by Serbia. Rugova said that there can be no local elections in Kosovo when all Kosovo's legitimate organs have been suspended. We will not accept elections of any kind without a return to constitutional order.

Asked by Yutel's correspondent to comment on the sentence of 60 days' imprisonment passed on Nevzat Halili, chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, Rugova said he had not been informed of this. He expressed surprise that Macedonia too has begun to take lessons from Serbia.

Radio Macedonia's correspondent asked how the LDK chairman viewed the position of the Albanians in Macedonia after their boycott of the referendum. Dr. Rugova said that on the basis of Kiro Gligorov's statement, no sanctions will be taken against the Albanians. Nor should any sanctions be taken against them, because it is every citizen's right to take part in a referendum or not.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Is Leke Zogu in Belgrade?

Asked by a journalist whether it is true that Leke Zogu, the heir to the throne, has been in Belgrade for several days and whether the LDK knew anything about this, Dr. Rugova said that there is no official information that Leke Zogu is in Belgrade, but if he is and if he is thinking of going to Albania with Yugoslavia's help, like his father, I think that times have changed. I do not know

whether he has such an aim or some other aim. We have no accurate information about this, Rugova said.

Serbian Villages in Bosnia Opt for Autonomous Region

LD2409123191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian settlements in Olovo municipality have adopted an irrevocable decision to join, in a peaceful way, the Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija (in Bosnia), according to today's statement of the main committee and delegates' club of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] in Olovo.

It is also said that this decision was adopted following a poll that was carried out and meetings held in Serbian villages. This decision was based on the expressed will of the Serbian inhabitants of this municipality.

This "dissociation" from Olovo municipality is explained by the assessment of the SDS in Olovo that "the policy being conducted by the Party of Democratic Action in Olovo is forcing the Serbian people to save themselves, organize and protect themselves."

Defense Minister on Partial Mobilization

LD2409124491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0937 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—The degree of partial mobilization in the Republic of Serbia will "depend on the concrete task," as Serbian Defence Minister General Tomislav Simovic said in an interview to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA, published today.

"The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) must perform its constitutional duty to defend and protect the Army and its members. Yugoslavia has to be defended against fascism and the Serbian population against genocide on Croatian territory," Simovic said. [passage omitted]

The mobilization in Serbia has prompted protests by some.

"Some reservists are dodging mobilization, and people are asking why only some reservists have been mobilized and whether sons of ranking officials have been mobilized," Simovic said on Belgrade television last night.

Simovic said this was only a partial mobilization, adding that the sons of Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Budimir Kosutic and Belgrade Mayor Milorad Unkovic have also been mobilized.

Reports Cite Cease-Fire Violations in Western Slavonia

AU2409150791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Report from western Slavonia by Zeljko Mandic]

[Excerpt] The Croat fighters are using the breakdown in communications and difficulties in information dissemination from western Slavonia to conceal their latest crimes against the Serbian people in this part of Slavonia. Nobody here believed in the cease-fire, nor in the good intentions of the Croatian President who tried, after all, to dissociate himself from this in his letters to [Defense Minister] Kadijevic.

The latest conduct by members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs toward the Serbs living in Western Slavonia, however, is proof that we are not talking about individuals who are disobeying the Croatian leader, but about planned actions aimed at destroying and eliminating everything Serbian. Let us say what happened:

Several hours after the truce and cease-fire were agreed on—which are still being observed by the units of the Yugoslav People's Army that arrived here and by members of the Territorial Defense of western Slavonia—at 1630 [1430 GMT] members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs launched a mortar attack with the help of 105-mm Howitzers from the villages of Levinovac and Radosavci on the civilian villages of Hum and Lisicina in the Podravska Slatina area. There are no positions of the Territorial Defense of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia in the village of Hum. Three people fell victim to this insane act; two were children of four and six years of age. Three persons were seriously wounded. Two of these are also small children.

On the same day, the first day of the cease-fire, mortar attacks were carried on the villages of Kraskovic, Businci, Balinci, and Ceralije in the Podravska Slatina region. Ustashas inflicted material damage, but there were no casualties.

The villages of Lisicina and Hum have been under mortar and Howitzer attack since 0800 [time as heard] yesterday. More than 300 projectiles fell on these two villages yesterday. [passage omitted]

Krajina Leader Says Croatia Not Observing Cease-Fire

LD2409204991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1827 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Knin, Yugoslavia, September 24 (TANJUG)—Milan Babic the premier of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today said that Croatian armed formations have not ceased fire, although Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has signed all ceasefire agreements concluded to date.

In a written statement distributed to the press, Babic says that 'Croatia is still arming and massing forces against Krajina.'

The latest agreement has not brought a respite to the people of Krajina, because Croatian forces have continued their aggression and burned down the village of Divoselo near Gospic, says Babic in his statement.

Babic adds in this context that the Serbian village of Medak is being demolished by artillery fire and that Army depots at Sveti Rok near [words indistinct]

All cease-fire agreements and statements entered into by Croatia so far have served no other purpose but to screen the further preparations and reinforcements of its forces,' Babic says in the statement and adds that, 'so far, we have been defending Krajina only within its borders. We are strong enough to defend it.'

Babic emphasizes that the forces of the autonomous region of Krajina have never been the first to open fire, but have been forced to 'respond to the aggression in order to protect the local population and prevent destruction in their territory.'

Military Sources Deny Croatian Reports on Bombardment

AU2409204891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] It has been generally quiet in the war regions in Croatia today, although there has been some sporadic shooting. The fiercest battles were waged around Vinkovci. According to military sources, attacks by the Croatian forces on the barracks in Vinkovci have hardly stopped. This garrison, which has been the target of attacks for days, according to the same sources, was sent reinforcements.

The units of the Yugoslav People's Army that set off to lift the blockade around the barracks in Vinkovci, as TANJUG has learned from military sources, this afternoon reached the outskirts of this town. Croatian Radio reported that Vinkovci has been subjected to the fiercest bombardment so far. Military sources have energetically denied this.

Serb Party Criticizes Capljina Mobilization Call

AU2409113591 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] As our correspondent Milan Vego reports, on the occasion of today's demand by the Capljina Communal Government for a mobilization of the territorial defense units, the Communal Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party for this commune issued a statement this evening which says the following:

In our opinion, the latest demand for the mobilization of the territorial defense units of Capljina Commune is adding fuel to the fire. This demand is hurried and is not going to contribute to calming or resolving this complex situation. We think that all possibilities for finding a peaceful solution to the new situation have not been exhausted, and we think that the situation has been exaggerated by the state of emergency, which has not been officially announced.

In our view, one should not respond to this mobilization because those people who fail to respond to a summons from the Yugoslav People's Army do not suffer any consequences, it is said in the announcement of the Capljina Communal Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party.

2,000 Radical Party 'Volunteers' Fight in Croatia

AU2409155391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The Serbian Radical Party supports the decision on the truce. If the Croatian side starts fighting again, however, the Serbian Army will not stop until it reaches Zagreb. This, among other things, was stated at the party's news conference. Dragan Stavljanin reports:

[Begin Stavljanin recording] There are almost 2,000 volunteers of the Serbian Radical Party in the battlefields in Croatia at present. Among them there are some Croats, Albanians, Slovaks, and Hungarians. This was stated by Ljubisa Petkovic, head of the party's Crisis Headquarters. In the fighting so far, two volunteers were killed and 11 were wounded. Our forces are under the command of the governments of Slavonia, western Srem, Baranja, and Krajina, Petkovic said, adding that he will not accept any military deserters in his ranks, because he does not want the Army to break up. He warned, however, that the Yugoslav People's Army must clean its ranks, because, as he said, many Croats and Slovenes remained in the Army in order to work on its disintegration.

The Serbian Radical Party would consider the possible arrival of peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia as occupation. Petkovic also said that the intelligence service of this party has learned that Stipe Mesic has held a secret meeting with Ante Markovic, Budimir Loncar, Janez Drnovsek, and representatives of the Croatian and Slovene authorities, at which it was decided that they would withdraw from federal organs in the near future.

Petkovic claims that the well-organized branches of the Croatian Democratic Community, the Party of Democratic Action, and the Kosovo Alternative are operating in Belgrade. He said that members of the Croatian Democratic Community were not responsible for the explosions in Belgrade, but that members of the Kosovo Alternative were responsible for them.

He also stressed that the party has so far taken care of 500 refugees from Croatia and found accommodations for another 240 refugees. The party collected food and medicines worth about 3 million dinars.

Ministry Urges Serbs To Return, Fight

LD2409220191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1959 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Ministry for Relations with Serbs outside Serbia today called on all able-bodied men "who have fled to Serbia before Ustashi terrorism" to respond to the call of the commander of the autonomous region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, and from other areas in Croatia "where the Serbian people are threatened," to return home and fight.

"Able-bodied men cannot invoke refugee status without risking to be labelled traitors by their own people," the ministry said.

The Serbian province of Vojvodina - which borders on the region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem - last week carried out partial mobilization. Meanwhile, partial mobilization has also been declared throughout the Republic of Serbia.

Red Cross Reports Fewer Refugees 24 Sep

LD2509041691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1521 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 24 (TANJUG)—According to the Serbian Red Cross organization, 105,293 refugees from Croatia have been registered in the territory of the Republic of Serbia, or 513 people fewer than yesterday.

There are 45,105 registered refugees in the territory of Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, 59,504 in central Serbia, and 684 refugees in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija.

YPA Exempt From Real Estate Disposal Ban

LD2409190991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1123 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 24 (TANJUG)— The Serbian government has adopted amendments to the order on banning disposal of real estate in Serbia, to exclude real estate belonging to the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) and flats belonging to federal organs, if sold to statutory tenants.

The order, which took effect on September 14, applies to legal and natural persons from the republics of Croatia and Slovenia as well as federal institutions.

The order is the Serbian government's reply to the Croatian government order on August 31, which banned disposal of real estate and basic means to legal persons from the republics of Serbia and Montengro, as well as the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Calls For UN Peace-Keeping Forces

AU2409184691 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1730 GMT 24 Sep 91

["Excerpts" from interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Walter Erdelitsch; place and date not given; Izetbegovic speaking in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Izetbegovic] We are seeking to set up a republic based on the principle of equal citizens, not on religious principles or the principle of nations, in other words, a modern European republic. We do not call for an Islamic republic. Our enemies are trying to use such a reproach to justify their operations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They have wrongly claimed that we are forming the core of a Muslim republic.

We have several things in common [words indistinct] We have three nationalities on our territory. We consider Switzerland our model, politically above all, because we are far away from it economically. However, we could use the political model. To stress it once again—we are not calling for an Islamic ideological republic.

If the cease-fire does not hold, UN peacekeeping forces are our only chance. There is no other choice. The alternative would be a large-scale conflict. If the cease-fire does not hold, any further effort would be doomed to failure from the start. The United Nations must dispatch troops to separate the parties to the conflict. If that is not done, Europe will be facing great problems. Yugoslavia will burn, and its neighboring countries will also be affected, including large streams of refugees and all the implications thereof.

Markovic Tells Sarajevo TV About Bosnia's Position

AU2509104491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] On the basis of the talks I had this evening with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Jure Pelivan, president of the Republican Government, and Dr. Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina and president of the crisis headquarters, it is obvious that war stands at the doorstep of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic said at the beginning of the Sarajevo Television "Club 91" phone-in program. Pointing out that, in a national sense, Bosnia-Hercegovina is the most complex part of Yugoslavia, Markovic, replying to the question of whether Bosnia-Hercegovina can exist also without Yugoslavia said the following:

[Begin Markovic recording] It is obvious that this is impossible, and no one should harbor any illusions about it, you know. There must be no illusions regardless of

whether there is genocide somewhere or not. Nobody must harbor any illusions because a process may begin—and it has begun—a process of disintegration of a system, its erosion instead of one system being transformed into another, something we tried to do with a minimum of suffering and our attempt was, after all, yielding extremely good results last fall, that is, about this time last year when we were leading all Eastern European countries by at least 20 years. However, the option of transformation has not been accepted, but national options which have won multiparty elections in most cases—being in a mutual conflict while fighting for power—have in fact destroyed reforms and stopped democratization. When this process began then it logically spread to all parts of our country—as you can see, it has come to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, we must urgently take all measures available to stop this process and change its direction. One more thing is certain, and that is that after all, Bosnia-Hercegovina is the place where some key mutual national relations in Yugoslavia are reflected and that Bosnia-Hercegovina therefore, although it is, of course, striving for its independence and sovereignty—because, just as any other republic, it also has the right to express itself as a state—is in fact advocating this to have some kind of relationship within Yugoslavia and, as far as I understood this, thereby wants to say that its survival is connected to a certain survival of connections within Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Daily Calls Yugoslav Government Anachronism

LD2409161591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1054 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Sept (TANJUG)—The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE writes today that "just as the Yugoslav State Presidency, the Yugoslav Government represents an anachronism, a body which has lost its own purpose of existence."

The daily published in the capital city of the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, points out that "all affairs have been transfered to the newly established states."

It has become clear even to Europe that the Yugoslav conflict, if at all possible, should be solved in direct contact with the leaders of the parties at war, depriving the office of prime minister of utility, the commentator of OSLOBODJENJE considers.

Refugees Flee 'Fear, Tension' in Stolac

AU2509113091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Dzenira Tabakovic-Maric report]

[Text] The fear and tension that have been reigning among citizens of the Stolac commune in the wake of last night's two hours of gunfire at the region of (?Dubrave) will bring another sleepless night which, according to all indications, is going to be difficult. At nightfall, columns of refugees can be seen on the road from Stolac heading toward Neum and other towns.

The Stolac local community of Crnici is a real wasteland today. Homes have been deserted and about 5,000 refugees have evacuated the Stolac community so far. Stolac schools and many enterprises are closed down, there are fewer and fewer medicines in the Stolac pharmacy, and shops in the region of Dubrave are closed.

The Stolac communal authorities are doing all they can with a view to normalizing life for the local people who are at the end of their tether, unable to endure all these traumas caused by the arrival of reservists and the Yugoslav People's Army to this region.

A message to the presidencies of the Assembly and Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as to the heads of all parties of Bosnia-Hercegovina was sent via the Stolac information center today asking them to do everything possible with a view to solving the situation in the Stolac commune if they can, because the times are extremely serious. Their presence in this region would be most desirable at the moment.

State of Emergency Declared for Serbs in Visegrad

LD2409111791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0650 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Visegrad, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] crisis headquarters in Visegrad today declared a state of emergency for Serbians in the area of this municipality. This is stressed in today's statement issued by the headquarters, which was formed last night because of "the escalation of open and brutal intranational conflicts in the area of Visegrad municipality, caused by the attacks of Muslim extremists on the personal safety and the property of citizens of Serbian nationality and attacks on social property."

The SDS crisis headquarters in Visegrad specifies that while the state of emergency is in force, school children of Serbian nationality will not go to school, and workers will remain at home instead of going to work in order to guard their homes. All officials from the ranks of the Serbian nation at any level will withdraw from their posts. Civil disobedience has been declared against what the Serbian people regard as "the illegal organs and their decisions."

The crisis headquarters has called on all Serbs capable of serving in a defense force to make themselves available "in defense of the Serbian nation." Republican state organs and the editorial board of TANJUG in Sarajevo, the statement says in conclusion, are aware of this decision of the crisis headquarters.

Leaders Criticize Army Reservists Arrival

LD2409202891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1756 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, September 24 (TANJUG)—President of the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Hercegovina and republican presidency member Stjepan Kljuic today strongly criticized the arrival of Yugoslav Army reservists from Serbia and Montenegro into Bosnia-Hercegovina. Kljuic told a press conference that the Army came to Bosnia- Hercegovina "to secure the western borders of greater Serbia." He accused Federal Defence Minister General Veljko Kadijevic of executing a military coup.

Several thousand reservists of the Yugoslav Army from the republics of Serbia and Montenegro arrived in Hercegovina (southern Bosnia-Hercegovina) four days ago. The leadership of Bosnia- Hercegovina has asked that the Army withdraw from this republic. The civilian authorities in western Hercegovina, populated mostly by Croats and Moslems, demand the mobilization of territorial defence units.

Members of the eight-member Bosnia-Hercegovina presidency who are from the Serbian Democratic Party yesterday gave their support to the Yugoslav Army and warned that the decisions about the security of this republic are adopted by outvoting representatives of the Serbian people in the republican organs.

The party of Yugoslavs for Bosnia-Hercegovina today assessed that "The Army is the only guarantee that the advocates of republican, national and party armed formations will not lead this country and its citizens into a catastrophe of a total both national and religious war."

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, 43.77 percent of the population are Moslems, 31.46 Serbs, and 17.34 Croats. The national parties of these three nations share power.

Leaders of the opposition Moslem Bosnian Organization today announced they would once more meet with representatives of the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina in order to save this republic from a civil war and religious conflicts.

At a press conference today, representatives of the Moslem Bosnian organization criticized Bosnia-Hercegovina president and leader of the strongest Moslem Party for Democratic Action Alija Izetbegovic for his "strong opposition" for political reasons to the historical agreement between Serbs and Moslems on which the Moslem Bosnian Organization had worked.

The citizens' forum of Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today appealed to citizens not to reply to any summons for mobilization, either from the police, the territorial defence, or the Yugoslav Army.

Banja Luka Said To Be Calm; Army Columns Greeted

AU2409112891 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] The entire day today in Banja Luka passed as usual, except for the presence of an increased number of Army and militia reservists in the streets and around all more important buildings in the town and its outskirts.

As our correspondent reports, the numerous military columns that passed through the town during the weekend, and left most probably for Bosanska Gradiska, have not upset the citizens. On the contrary, citizens greeted them with applause.

800 Bosnian Reservists Reportedly Desert Bihac Airbase

AU2409144091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Some 800 military reservists from Bosanski Petrovac, Bosansko Grahovo, and Titov Drvar, demonstratively left Bihac Military Air Base last night. Approximately 40 percent of all reservists mobilized at the end of the previous week within the so- called [Serbian autonomous region of] Bosanska Krajina have laid down their weapons. General Kadijevic is supposed to have already filled the void that has emerged. He has ordered a fresh batch of reservists, most probably from Serbia, to be transported to the air base by transport airplanes and helicopters.

Bosnian Interior Minister Views Talks With Army

AU2409182791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] At the beginning of our newscast let me quote a statement that most certainly deserves your attention. We have a peaceful and intact Bosnia, stated Alija Delimustafic, minister of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, after his talks with the leaders of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] in Belgrade today. This is what we demanded and our impression was that Army has received this with relief.

We repeated to the YPA officers everything we said in our recent talks in Han Pijesak, namely that the republic's integrity, its public peace and order, security of citizens and of their property, are the fundamental tasks of our service. We convinced our partners that the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina have nothing against the YPA and [word indistinct] to the attributes that adorned the Army for more than 40 years. The Army agreed to extend us its full support in our task of preserving Bosnia-Hercegovina and its peace, concluded Delimustafic.

Army Rejects Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Demand

LD2409191491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Mostar, September 24 (TANJUG)—The command of the Yugoslav Army units based in Hercegovina (southern Bosnia-Hercegovina) today rejected the demand by the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegoina to withdraw its reservists from the south of this Yugoslav republic.

The deputy commander of the Uzice corps in the town of Nevesinje, Lieutenant-Colonel Ilija Kovacevic, told reporters that the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army had ordered the deployment of reserve units in Hercegovina, and that he would not comply with any decisions or ultimatums set by other state organs.

"In that respect, the demand set by the government and the presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not concern us whatsoever," Lt.-Col. Kovacevic said.

The leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina conveyed the demand to the Yugoslav Army leadership two days ago, after columns of vehicles and mobilised reservists from the republics of Serbia and Montenegro were deployed in Hercegovina.

Tension in this multi-ethnic region mounted after reports about armed incidents between reservists and the local Moslem population.

At the border between Hercegovina and the republics of Montenegro and Croatia, there is a fragile peace today following last night's shooting in the town of Trebinje.

This was the first incident of this kind since the outbreak of the Yugoslav crisis in the area where three of the six Yugoslav republics meet.

The authorities of the nearby Croatian coastal resort of Dubrovnik today said they were in permanent contact with neighbouring municipalities in Montenegro and Hercegovina, in order to avert an escalation of clashes.

It is impossible to establish who was the first to open fire in last night's incident due to contradictory reports. Following the incident, about 120 families moved from the border towns of Hercegovina to safer locations.

Montenegro

Bulatovic on Demilitarization Problem

LD2409212791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1858 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Titograd, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic said today that demands for demilitarizing this republic sounded "very attractive", but that Montenegro could meet this demand "only after the demilitarization of Germany and Croatia."

In a meeting with local businessmen, Bulatovic said that Montenegro had carried out partial mobilization after it had been faced with an immediate threat from the neighbouring Republic of Croatia.

He said that 2,000 Croatian police and 500 notorious "black shirts" were stationed along the Croatian-Montenegrin border.

The Montenegrin president said another reason why this smallest Yugoslav republic could not be demilitarized was that "its neighbours, both in Yugoslavia and abroad, are showing aspirations towards its territory."

Djukanovic on Move for Independence

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[Text] Titograd, September 24 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of Montenegro Milo Djukanovic has said that this, the smallest Yugoslav republic, was also "lately considering becoming independent," the Titograd daily POBJEDA reports today.

According to POBJEDA, in a recent talk with Italian reporters in the Montenegrin capital, Djukanovic had assessed the insistence upon the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia as counter-productive.

Without going into details, Djukanovic had said that the Montenegrin leadership was "stepping up the completion of the actual sovereignty of Montenegro." He recalled that Montenegro had an almost thousand-year-long tradition and that no-one could question the statehood of this state, "which was the 27th in the world to be recognized as such."

The sovereignty of Montenegro will be complete when it becomes a subject which is able to cooperate with developed European states on an equal basis.

The prime minister of the republic which considers itself the strongest ally to the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia in the battle for the preservation of the federal system of Yugoslavia, assesssed that the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis has entered a new phase. According to Djukanovic, it should first be established which of the six Yugoslav republics want to live in a common state, and only then should negotiations be begun to determine the model of that state.

Djukanovic believes that the future state should retain three common functions—the areas of defence, monetary policy, and foreign policy, at least to a certain extent.

"Divorce proceedings should be started with those who do not wish to remain in Yugoslavia at the Federal Assembly," the Montenegrin prime minister said.